



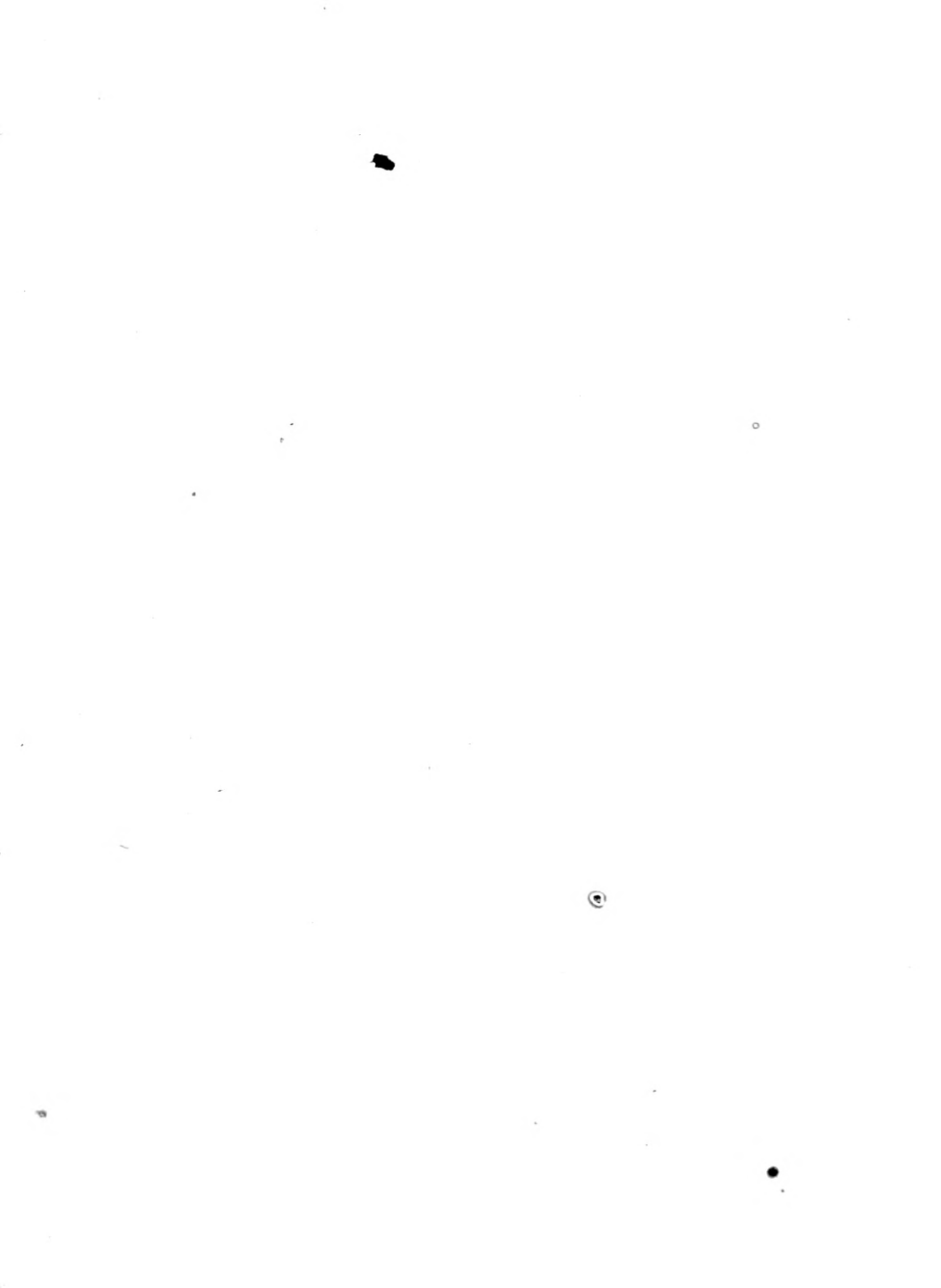
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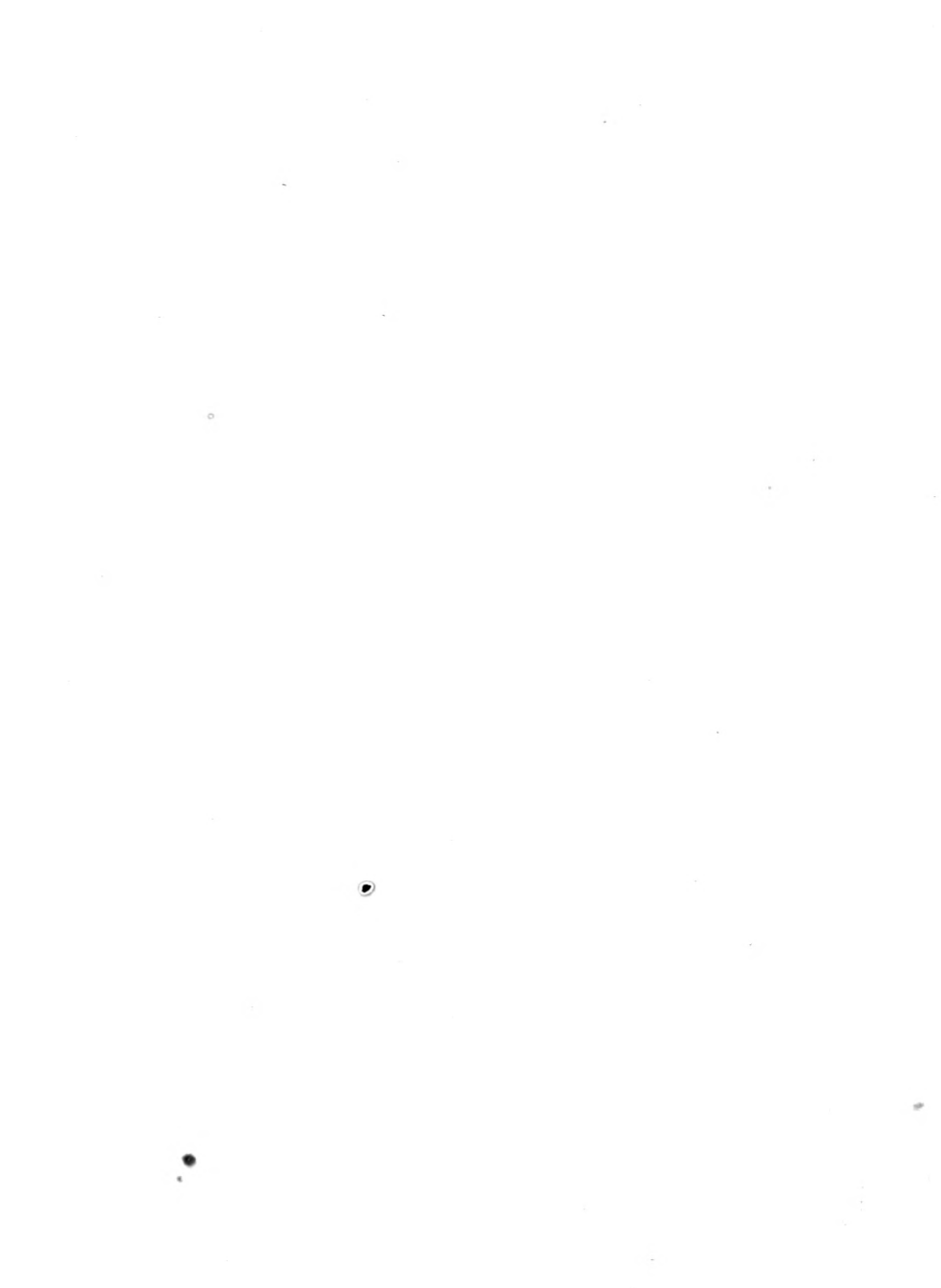


QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY
AT KINGSTON

KINGSTON ONTARIO CANADA







and *late* *of*
A
VINDICATION
OF
K. Charles the Martyr:
London PROVING THAT
His Majesty was the Author
OF
'ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ'.
AGAINST A
MEMORANDUM,

Said to be written by the Earl of Anglesey.
AND,
Against the Exceptions of Dr. Walker and others.

To which is added a Preface,

Wherein the Bold and Insolent *Affertions* published in
a Passage of Mr. Bayle's Dictionary, relating to the
present *Controversy* are Examined and Confuted.

The Third Edition, with large Additions; together with some
Original Letters of King CHARLES the First under his own
Hand, never before Printed, and faithfully copied from the
said *Originals*.

*That Pious King and Blessed Martyr was too often thus used, — His
Declarations were denied to be his, tho' asserted, framed, penned by
himself: His Book denied to be his, tho' none could pen it but himself:
He was deny'd to have declar'd what he did constantly profess, to have
written what he wrote, to have spoken what he spake; and at last sure
some will deny him to have suffered what he endured. Bishop Pearson in
Answer to Dr. Burges.*

LONDON: Printed for R. Wilkin at the King's-Head in St. Paul's
Church-Yard, 1711.

THE PREFACE;

WHEREIN,

*The Bold and Insolent Assertions published in a Passage of
Mr. BAYLE's Historical and Critical Dictionary, rela-
ting to the present Controversy, are Examin'd and Confuted.*

BIOGRAPHERS (especially the modern) when they take upon them to write the Lives of other Men, usually collect together all the finest Characters they can meet with, and then with all the Art and Eloquence they are Masters of, apply them to the Subject they have in hand, whether any one of those Characters do properly belong to them or not; designing rather a vain-glorious Ostentation of their own Abilities, than the Truth of Things, or the Merits of the Cause. If a *Critick* comes to be the Subject, then all the bright Characters which have been given to the most Learned, and to several of them, to *Turnebus*, *Scaliger*, *Grotius* or *Selden*, must all at once be translated to, and accumulated upon their new Object. If an *Historian*, then what has been said of *Diodorus Siculus*, *Polybius*, *Livy* or *Plutarch*, or other famous Historians, is all press'd, and all little enough to set out and adorn the Author they have pitch'd upon. As if their Business had been to write Panegyrics, and not Histories; and I dare say, that *Pliny's* Panegyrick upon *Trayan* is both a truer and modest History of that great Prince, than most of the Lives are, which have been publish'd of late Years of those Persons they pretend to describe and give an account of; they transcribe out of their own *Common Places*, and supply Materials from their own Brains, instead of delivering to the World the Memoirs of the Persons concern'd: Truth is the least Part of the Business, and probably of the Design too; their Drift is to recommend Themselves, not the Subject they treat of, to shew how trimly they can tell a Tale, not what Right and Justice they shall do to their Memory;

Memory ; for in that Case, Truth is far more valuable than Eloquence ; and a just and honest Character, than a thousand formal Flourishes, and lasts longer. And this we daily see with our Eyes, one true Account of a Man, justly giving him his due, neither overstretching his Virtues, nor cloaking his Failings, void of Flattery and Partiality, shall live in the Memories of Men, and be transmitted to Posterity, when all these dawbing Harangues, like a Meteor kindled by foul Exhalations, blaze a little, and go out in a Slink, and in a short Revolution of Time, the Authors themselves, and the Subjects they treat on, sink into the darkest Oblivion, and are never more heard of.

I shall not need to exemplify this by particular Instances, and especially in this Age and Nation, where we have so many Lives, and Histories too (as they are called) which verify every Tittle of this Charge. But that which I am more immediately concern'd in, and to which this I intended as introductory, (tho' I do not design, nor mean, that every Part of it should be applied to him, or yet to his Subject, but some Parts only, and those which are plainly prov'd in the following Discourse) is to represent to the Reader the Character which the Author of Mr. Bayle's Life gives of Mr. Bayle himself, and also of this particular *Dictionary*; and thus it is in his own Words.

And as to himself, he says, *He gave Credit to Historians only conditionally, and till he could come at farther Information ; in this Disposition he inculcated to his Readers the avoiding precipitate Judgments, and not lightly believing all they read in History, Page 115.* This is very discreet, and becoming any Man, and especially a Critick ; but how truly Mr. Bayle deserv'd this, (*in the Case before us*) we shall see before the end of this Preface. Next he tells us, *He always took care to verify his Citations to the greatest nicety, he examin'd Historical Facts with an Exactness, which border'd on Scrupulosity, and seem'd to be born for retrieving the Faults, which others had made, or the Errors they had too rashly suffer'd to pass. Most Readers think themselves so little interess'd in Historical Relations, that they seldom or never will be at the trouble of discussing them ; they take them for granted, and repeat them on the Credit of him who has examin'd them, or who vends them with an assurance. Mr. Bayle would never be impos'd upon by the Authority of the most celebrated Authors, he scann'd those Facts which have been looked upon as the most undoubted, and never was discourag'd by the Difficulties which arose by discussing the minutest Circumstances : he stock'd himself with the Books of all Parties, in order to the Discovery of the Truth, by confronting their Relations ever different, and very often opposite, Pag. 203.* Now this Character gives us account of a very industrious, and a very impar-

impartial Author, that he would take nothing upon trust, even from the most celebrated Authors, but would always judge with his own Eyes, and examine every thing himself, and never give any Judgment till that Matter had pass'd his full, particular, and impartial Inspection. Nay our Author does not only give him this Character, but sets it forth to the utmost, that he was a Man so extraordinary in this, *That he seem'd to be born to retrieve the Faults of others*: And yet if the Reader will give himself the trouble to read to the end of this Preface, he will find him failing in every one of these Particulars. As instead of *examining the Cause with the utmost Niceness and Scrupulosity*, not to examine it at all; and instead of not being impos'd upon by the most celebrated Authors, he suffer'd himself to be impos'd upon by an Author far from being celebrated, even a very mean and trifling one; and instead of *discussing the minutest Circumstances, and stocking himself with Books of all Parties, in order to discover the Truth by confronting the Relations*, he has discuss'd no Circumstances at all, hath mention'd only one Side, without so much as the least Tittle on the other; and which is worst of all, hath pass'd his Judgment and Censure, without either knowing himself, or giving his Reader any thing of the *contrary Relations*. And as to the Book it self, the Author says, *But what distinguishes this from all other Dictionaries, is that Spirit of Impartiality and Disinterestedness, which runs thro' the whole. Mr. Bayle does the part of a faithful Historian, as to what concerns Hereticks and false Religions; and not only censures, as occasion presents, the Errors of Fact to their Disadvantage, but the false Reasonings also, and false Raileries of Controversists of what Denomination soever, and shews we must not judge of Persons and Parties by the Writings of their Enemies*, Pag. 152, 153. These indeed are great and glorious Characters, and it must be confess'd, whoever undertakes so great and comprehensive a Work, should in some measure be furnished with every one of these Qualities: If he is not the Person here describ'd, 'tis certain such he ought to have been, otherwise he corrupts the Truth, under the plausible Pretence of finding it out; leads Men into Errors and Mistakes, by Insinuation and Artifice; betrays the present Age, and poysens Posterity, instead of informing them. Now how well or ill Mr. Bayle answers these great Things said of him, in the other Parts of his *Dictionary*, is no Concern of mine, nor do I purpose to inquire; but in the present Case, I am confident to say he hath not made good any one Particular, but the direct contrary; he runs counter to every Instance, and every Attribute here bestow'd on him, and his whole Conduct in this Matter, is a plain Contradiction to all together, and to every Word our Author hath so laboriously laid down in his Commendation.

dation : And if his Character may be taken from this single *Performance*, we must read our Author backwards, and Mr. *Bayle* is just the contrary to what he represents him. This in the ensuing Discourse I shall make evident to any Man, and as plain and clear as the Sun when it shines at Noon-Day.

But before I proceed to that, I crave the Reader's leave to speak to Two Things, by way of Anticipation.

I. It may be objected, that Mr. *Bayle* is dead, and upon that account, the Arguments are in every Man's mouth, that 'tis base and ignoble to fight with Shadows, and attack a Man who cannot defend himself; that what Faults a Man hath committed, they dye with him, and are cover'd with the Dust, where he must be left responsible to his own Master; but to trample upon his Ashes, argues a degenerate and unworthy Spirit; that Passion and Resentment, which pursue a Man very far, yet stop at the Grave, and all Hostilities cease. Now this, and a great deal more that may be said, are certainly very true, and to which I heartily subscribe : But then it ought to be considered in what Sence, and in what Cases these Arguments are to affect Men, and in what not; that is, in all Personal Cases betwixt Man and Man they have their Force, and ought always by the Rules of Christian Charity to be reduc'd into Practice : And if Mr. *Bayle* had done me any personal Injury of what nature soever, (as he never did) I hope the Power of Religion would have so wrought upon me, as to have intirely forgiven him, to be sure never to have troubled his Ashes on that account. But the Case before us is quite of another nature, of Publick Concernment, where neither Mr. *Bayle's* Person nor mine are of any Consideration. The Question is concerning the Truth of a Matter of Fact, and I ought not to subscribe to Falshood, or to conceal Truth out of any regard to Mr. *Bayle's* Person, whether living or dead. I may have Charity for Mr. *Bayle's* Person, or for his Memory, but no Man ought to have any Charity for his Errors. If Men will be writing Books, and transmitting Falshoods to Posterity, no Man will believe that Charity to the Dead is an Obligation not to detect those Errors, and undeceive the Living. The Question concerns a Great King, as great perhaps as ever reign'd, not only on the *English*, but any other Throne; Great in his Government, Greater in his Sufferings, and Greatest of all in his Death : And if Mr. *Bayle* will rashly and unadvisedly, not to say impudently and maliciously, stain the Honour of so Glorious a Monarch, and give his Authority and Countenance to the most shameless and insolent Untruths; no Man will, no Man can think, but Truth may be justified, and the incomparable Virtues of so Great a King vindicated,

cated, though such a Vindication should include in it, or necessarily draw after it, a Reflection on Mr. *Bayle*, or a Man a thousand times greater and better than him. Let it be remembered too, that King *Charles* had been dead many Years; and which aggravates it to the utmost, barbarously cut off and murder'd by the most flagitious and bloody Rebels under the Sun: So that if Death it self be an Argument for Charity, certainly such a Death, and in such hideous Circumstances, should skrew up that holy Grace to the utmost, and heighten it to the greatest pitch of Commiseration and Compassion that human Nature is capable of, and make Mens Hearts and Bowels melt within them, in the most extensive Tenderneſs to his glorious Name and Memory: But it seems the Death of a great King, and such a Death too, could not bridle Mr. *Bayle's* Pen, nor restrain him, for all his *Niceness* and *Scrupulosity*, from insulting his Ashes. The Greatness of his Person, the admirable Endowments and Qualifications of his Mind, the infinite and intolerable Troubles, Vexations and Afflictions, which he suffer'd under the Hands of Villains and Miscreants, the dreadful Horror of his bloody and unparallel'd Murther, will demand of all Men to remember him, and to speak of him with all the pious Tenderneſs, Pity and Commiseration our Hearts are capable of: Of all Men, I say, who were not guilty of his Murther, or wish well to it, who have drank deep of the Spirit of Rebellion, whose Hearts are Flint, and whose Malice, Pride and Envy are equal with the Devil: But if these, and all these, could not withhold and hinder Mr. *Bayle* from laying his Hands on the Dust of this great and good King, and blasting his Memory with Reproaches and Aspersions, certainly Mr. *Bayle's* Death can be no Objection from pious Endeavours to wipe off all these foul Scandals; and (if I were but worthy and able) to do Justice and Right to his Glorious Memory.

II. The next thing I premise, is to acquaint the Reader what he may expect from the following Discourse. 'Tis probable he may look for a nice and accurate Discussion of some Questions, ventilating of Arguments, examining the force of Reasons, confronting and invalidating of Testimonies, or some such matter of Learning, in which all Books of Controversy abound more or less. But to prevent that Expectation, I crave leave to inform the Reader, that he will find nothing at all of this; for the Matter, or Thing, or whatever you will call it, that I am now concern'd with, has not the least Tittle of any of these. There is neither Argument, nor Reason, nor Testimony, nor any other thing whatsoever, whereby Learned Men use to support their Assertions, and to maintain them, either to uphold the Truth of them, or to defend them against their Adversaries; but only a plain, dry, senseless Narrative and Assertion,

tion, without any thing to guard or fortify it. And I pray the Reader not to expect that I should answer Arguments, where are none to be had; or that I should enervate the force of Reasons, when there is not the least Shadow of Reason given; or disprove Witnesses, when none at all appear. Heretofore in the two other parts, my Business was to consider the Arguments and Testimonies which were brought for the contrary Assertion, to examin them with all the Care I could, and to demonstrate their Weakness and Insufficiency; but here I have nothing to do, but to attack pure dint of Forehead and Confidence, and nothing else; and I need not acquaint the Reader, how few Topicks are requir'd, to manage such an Undertaking: A meer shew of Reasons, good or bad, will require a fair Discussion, and better Reasons to clear up the Points; Testimonies true or false, will yet need to be examin'd, their Falsity detected, and confronted by clear and better Testimonies: But downright Confidence hath nothing to be said to it, 'tis made of Brass, a hard Metal, and stands impenetrable to Reasons and Arguments; they are all foreign to the Case, and a Man so dispos'd, is fortify'd against all Convictions, and nothing can reach him, till he mend his Qualities and Manners. Suppose a Man should write a Book in answer to a former, and that Answer should be reply'd upon, and be fully, evidently, and perspicuously answer'd in every part and branch of it, and so answer'd, that the Author hath not any thing to say in his own defence; and yet notwithstanding, should either himself, or get some body else to publish to the World, that for all that Reply he will stand to it; that he had confuted and confounded him to all intents and purposes, long before that Reply was made, without telling any one particular or instance, wherein it was defective. This I take to be the Case here, and I would desire a Man of far better Faculties than my self, to consider what can be said to such a Person, and such a Cause; whether his Invention, how extensive soever, will supply him with Topicks, and give him a Handle to make a just and reasonable Discourse on. I believe he will find, that not only the just and proper Method, but the only one, is to admire the Confidence, and despise it. And to conclude this point, if the Reader does not find that Satisfaction in point of Discussion and Reasoning, that otherwise he might expect, I desire he would do me that Justice to consider the Barrenness of the Subject, and that the Cause will not bear it.

And what that is I come now to shew.

Mr. Bayle in the Article *Milton*, (p. 2553. of the *English* Edition) takes occasion, among other things, to say that *Milton maintain'd that King Charles was not the Author of it*, (Icon Basilike;) and time hath shewn he maintain'd this upon good Grounds. But this is false in both

both the parts of it; for, first, *Milton* never maintain'd that King *Charles* was not the Author; for certainly he that never directly asserts a thing, cannot be said to maintain it, which is much more than bare asserting; for to maintain a thing, is not only to assert it, but to prove it too, and to confirm it by Argument or Testimony. But *Milton* is so far from asserting that he was not the Author, that he in downright Terms affirms that he was the Author, in these very Words, (in his Preface to *ELIZABETH*) *But since he himself*, (meaning King *Charles*) *making new appeal to Truth and the World, hath left behind him this Book, as the best Advocate and Interpreter of his own Actions.* 'Tis true, he makes some dark *Inuendo's* and *Flirts*, as if he was contented other People should believe the King was not the Author; as in the same Preface, *As to the Author — whether it were the late King, or any secret Coadjutor; and some stick not to name him.* And again, (p. 28.) *Whether the King, or his Household Rhetorician.* And again, (p. 36.) upon the Word *Demagogue*, *'Tis believ'd this Wording was above his known Style and Orthography; and accuses the whole Composure to be conscious of some other Author.* And again, concerning the Fate of the *Horhams*, (p. 72.) *Like the Quibbles of a Court Sermon; that we may safely reckon them either fetch'd from such a Pattern, or that the Hand of some Household-Priest joyn'd them in.*

By all which, 'tis evident enough, that how willing soever *Milton* was to have it believ'd, and had been well contented that the World should swallow that Opinion, and accordingly at every turn dropt an insinuating Expression, and took all Occasions to let fall here and there some doubtful Words, which he left his Readers to interpret as they pleas'd; tho' the Occasions he took were sometimes very ridiculous. As for Instance, the Word *Demagogue*, surely that is not a Word that requires such deep Learning, both for the Sense and Orthography of it, but a Person by many degrees inferiour to the King in Parts and Learning may understand it, and use it: and I fancy Mr. *Milton* would have thought it a Reproach to some of his own School-boys, to have been revild with Ignorance, and want of Understanding, both of what it meant and how to spell it. But this shews only how willing he was, and would have been glad if other People would have believ'd, that any Person had been the Author besides the King. But this notwithstanding, even *Milton* himself, (a Man of that Complexion, that would have ventur'd as far to broach a Lie, and to maintain it too, as any of his Defenders and Followers) yet never durst assert it, tho' he had a great mind to it: and 'tis plain he never believ'd it himself, but in clear and undisguis'd Expressions owns it to be his, not only in the Preface, but in the End too; where he says, *That the King fought against Religion and Liberties to his dying day; and now after Death still*

fight against them in this his Book, p. 237. And there is scarcely a Page, to be sure not a Chapter throughout that whole vile Book, wherein he does not either in express Words, or by direct Consequence own it to be the King's, and as such bends all his sophistical Reasons and villanous Raileries against it. In the very first Chapter, and the first Words of that Chapter, he thus expresses himself, (p. 1.) *That which the King lays down here as his first Foundation.* And he begins the second Chapter thus, *This next Chapter is a penitent Confession of the King*, (p. 14.) In the third Chapter, upon the King's going to the House of Commons, he says, *He (the King) confesses it to be an Act which most Men, whom he calls his Enemies, cryed Shame upon*; and then mentions the King's very Words in this Chapter of the King's Book, *Indifferent Men grew jealous, &c.* (p. 22.) In the next Chapter, although he had a Flirt, as *whether the King or his Household Rhetorician*; yet that notwithstanding he plainly asserts in the same Chapter, *That the King was so emphatical and elaborate on this Theme against Tumults, and expressed with such a Vehemence his Hatred to them*, (p. 31.) In the next, about the Bill for Triennial Parliaments, he says, *In the King's own Words*; and then mentions the King's Words in this Book, *It was no more than what the World was fully confirm'd he might in justice, &c.* And then it follows, *For that end he affirms to have done it; but whereas he attributes the passing them to his own Act of Grace and Willingness, &c.* 'Tis needless to transcribe any more here, other Particulars will be mention'd presently; 'tis all of a piece as to this Particular, and there are a thousand places wherein he attributes it to the King. And tho' he argues against it as far as his venomous Witt and Malice could reach, yet he does it always as the King's own Work, and owns it his a thousand times over. So that if *Milton* may be believ'd, 'tis most certain King *Charles* was the Author of this Book; for notwithstanding his dark Insinuations of *Coadjutors, Household Rhetoricians and Foisters in*, which have no foundation but the Air, we have his own multiply'd and express Affirmations to the contrary, which, so far as such a Man's Authority is worth, is of more Weight than a million of ridiculous Conjectures, of which he neither gives Proof nor Reason, nor yet a direct Affirmation. In short, *Milton* drops a Surmise, or Conjecture, in three or four places of his Book, that somebody else might be the Author; he does not know who, nor for what reason: And the same *Milton* in the same Book expressly or by necessary Implication affirms, that the King was the Author in at least a thousand.

The Conclusion from hence is this, That Mr. *Bayle* here directly contradicts the Author of his Life; and for all his Niceness, Exactness and Scrupulosity, he hath here fastned an Assertion on *Milton*, which

which he was never the Author of, and never affirm'd it, either expressly or by direct consequence: And this sure is no great sign, that he always saw with his own Eyes, and examin'd every thing himself; or if he did, it affects him so much the more, and partakes of worse Qualities, and will intitle him to Negligence, Inconsiderateness, or Partiality, no very good Qualities in an *Historian*, and much less in such a *Critical Historian*, who pretends to correct the World, and amend the Errors of all before him. 'Tis true, *Milton* was poyson'd with the utmost Malice against the King's Person and his Cause, and hated him as much, probably more than the Man that cut off his Head, and he hated the Book for the Author's sake; and any Man who reads his bitter and villainous Invectives against it, will soon be satisfy'd that he really believ'd it was the King's own; and all that Gall and Venom, those insolent and barbarous Scorns and Revilings, were the natural Product of that cancred Hatred which he always bore to the King, and which (because he was murder'd already) he could not lay hold on his Person, he emptied himself upon this his incomparable Work. Had it been the Composure of any Person besides, or had he believ'd that it was, it would have fared like the rest of his Adversaries, and have been answer'd with his common Talent of Jest and Scurrilities: But being the King's, and withal so very excellent in it self, there rais'd up all the Furies of his Nature, and skrew'd up his Envy and Malice, and all his Passions to the utmost height that his own implacable Stomach or the Devil could assist him with! Here we have him in Perfection, exceeding in Impudence and Falshood not only all other Men but himself too; his Expressions kept pace with his Malice, and, as the nature of Envy always is, grows more fiery and cruel, by how much the more the Person is honourable, and the Work worthy. No common or unknown Author could have swell'd the Spleen so much, or open'd it into such a Flood of Blasphemies and Irreverence; but we may be sure they were pointed with particular Malice, and inspired by that innate Rage and Fury, which he always bore against the King's Person, and the Royal Family. And for my own part, if there were nothing else besides, the bitter and foul Expressions, the monstrous and barbarous Reproaches and Revilings, the implacable Envy and Malice which runs thro' the whole Answer of *Milton*; I say if there were no other Reason, this single one would be sufficient to convince me, that he believ'd King *Charles* was the true Author; the belief of which, and which only, fermented in his Gall, and broke forth into loathsome Blains and Botches, of such and so many pestilent, inhuman, nay diabolical Invectives against it. But besides this, which is only Collection and Inference, he has (as I observ'd before) often owned the same in

direct Words, and exprefs Terms : In feveral places of his Answer he calls it *HIS BOOK* ; and in every Page, fometimes fix or feven times in one Page, when he difputes againft any Particulars, he always, or for the moft part, introduces it with *He* fays this or that, *He* alledges, *He* confeffes : And yet more fully, when he quotes Paſſages out of the Book, there is nothing more uſual with him than theſe Exprefſions, *The Kings own Language, His own Words, His own Teſtimony, His Aphoriſm, His own Rule, The Diſcourſes of a Prince, The Reaſon by himſelf ſet down* ; and in more Words, upon that Chapter intituled to the Prince of Wales, he begins thus, *What the King wrote to his Son as a Father, concerns not us ; what he wrote to him as a King of England, concerns not him*, (p. 211.) Now theſe are all clear and expreſs, and need no Art, nor have any room for Inferences and Conſequences ; for if the Exprefſions in the Book be his own Language, if the Aſſertions his own Words, if the Proofs or Affirmations his own Teſtimony, then without doubt the Book was his own ; and he that affirms theſe of this Book, does and muſt be conſtrued to believe that it is. And if he had not fully believ'd it, how ridiculous and impertinent had it been for him to talk thus in his Preface to his Answer to that Book. *Neither was it fond Ambition* — to get a Name, by writing againſt a King : *Kings have gain'd glorious Titles by writing againſt private Men ; but no Man ever gain'd much Honour by writing againſt a King* — *Kings ſtrong in Legions, but weak in Arguments ; nevertheless for their ſakes* — *I ſhall make no ſcruple to take up (for it ſeems to be the Challenge both of him and all his Party) to take up this Gauntlet, tho' a King's.*

Befides, ſome Years after, in answer to a Book called *Regii Sanguinis Clamor*, when the Author of that Book had ſaid that Biſhop Jaxon had been examined by the King's Judges, what the King meant when upon the Scaffold he had him twice, *Remember* ; after ſome Threatnings, the Biſhop at laſt told them, that the King order'd him, *If he could come to his Son, he ſhould carry as the laſt Command of his dying Father, That if he was reſtored to his Throne, he ſhould forgive the Anchors of his Death.* To this, after a ſhort Flirt upon the King and the Biſhop, Milton thus answers, *Jam pridem Carolus hoc idem inter alia præcepta, Filio mandaverat in illa Icone Baſilica, quæ librum ideo ſcriptum ſatis apparet, ut cum omni diligentia, nobis vel invitis, ſecretum illud, qua offentatione ſimulatum erat, eadem paulo poſt evulgaretur.* “ But juſt before, Charles (plain Charles, as if he was talking of his Fellows) had among others given this very “ command to his Son, in that Icon Baſilike, which Book appears there- “ fore to be written, that with all diligence, and whether we would or no, that “ very Secret with what offentation it was diſſembled, with the ſame it ſhould “ a little after be publiſhed. I am ſurprized that Mr. Bayle ſhould quote
this

this very passage, and yet at the same time affirm, that *Milton* maintains King *Charles* was not the Author. 'Tis hard to say that he could not construe a piece of Latin, and 'tis yet harder, and more severe upon his Character, that he should be so wretchedly negligent and inconsiderate, as to lay down an Author's opinion, and then to quote that Author's own words in direct contradiction to it. For my part, I can but guess, and it may be likely, that because he found *simulacrum erat* in the sentence, he thought, or had a mind to think it might relate to the whole, and to the Book it self. But this is to make it Nonsense, and a Contradiction. For how could he say that *Charles* had given that Command to his Son in that Book, if at the same time he had said the Book it self was counterfeit: At that rate, somebody else must have commanded it, but not King *Charles*. Besides, 'tis contrary to the whole Intention and Design of that sentence, which is to ridicule the *secrecy*, that that should be made a Secret, and extorted by Threats, which was printed and published to the Nation. Now if the Book was a Counterfeit, that Secret was still a Secret, lodged in the Bishop's Breast, notwithstanding twenty counterfeit Publications. What signified it to the Bishop, or what the King said to him, what another had printed and published? And the whole Jest, and all the reasoning upon it, proceeds upon the supposition that it was the King's, that it was impertinent Shyness in the Bishop, to make that a great Secret, and not to tell it the King's Judges, when the very same had been published by the King himself in his own Book. Furthermore, as this interpretation makes the sentence nonsense, so also that construction is not grammatical, *simulacrum erat* can never agree with *liber*; not only because *liber* is in the Sentence before, and not in that which immediately precedes, but because it is of a different Gender; and if it had any reference to that, it must have been *similius erat*; but it is *secretum illud*, that he calls *simulacrum*; and if Mr. Bayle would have asked himself what that Secret was, to wit, the King's wonderful Charity to his Enemies and Murderers, he would have easily found, that 'twas no wonder for *Milton* to have represented it, as *dissembled with Ostentation*: for there was nothing more usual with him, than to call all the King's Virtues dissembled and counterfeit: And we have it in this very Case, in the next Page, about giving his Son a Command to forgive his Murderers, and uses the very same word, *simulasse Carolum*; *nec unquam ex animo*, &c. that *Charles* dissembled, and never heartily meant it. Mr. Bayle hath likewise added to this, what follows in *Milton*; *Sed video plane decrevisse vos Carolum quemdam*, &c. But I plainly see that you have design'd to obtrude upon the unskilful some perfect *Charles*, if not this *Stuart*; at least some fabulous one, painted in feigned Colours. Ita

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fabellam hanc, &c. So you have patch'd up this little Tale, trimly set out with little Sentences, to ensure the Vulgar. It seems to me, that Mr. Bayle would have all this to be understood of the Book, but very ridiculously; for how I wonder could he imagine, that when he tells *Morus*, (whom he nam'd, and whom he was resolv'd should be his Adversary, tho' he never wrote that Book) I say, how could he imagine, that when he tells *Morus hanc Fabellam concinasti*, he meant he had wrote the *Icon*, which never entred into *Milton's* Head, nor into any other Man's. Besides, the Question here is not at all concerning the Book, *Milton* himself brought that in, not to dispute the Authority of it, but to make use of it, to render the account his Adversary gives of Bishop *Juxon*, either suspicious or impertinent. And all his Discourse is bent against that Relation that Author gives of Bishop *Juxon's* Report: But not one word against the Genuineness or Authority of the *Icon*. That Author indeed had not only barely related the account of the Bishop, but had added to it a very honourable and just Character of the King. *O! Regem etiam interfectoris tuis venerandum!* "O King, revered even by his Murderers! O holy Father of his People! O true Disciple of Christ, who even after his Death pray'd for his Enemies. This is what *Milton* means by painting out a fabulous *Charles*, and this is that he calls the little Fable patch'd up: and thus it immediately follows in *Milton*; *Ego vero, ut non negaverim, &c.* But for me, tho' I should not deny that the Bishop was so examined. I have been the longer upon this, to prevent Objections, and to make manifest Mr. Bayle's Ignorance or Inconsiderateness; either he did not understand *Milton*, or if he did, by a supine Negligence he quotes him in Confutation of himself; which are no great Instances of his Judgment or Care. I confess, Mr. Bayle does not say in so many words, that he design'd this Quotation to prove *Milton's* Opinion; but if any Man will read the place, he cannot forbear so understanding it; for it immediately follows, *The Opinion of this Writer made no Impression*. However, this is not the only place (besides his Answer to the *Icon*) *Milton* hath asserted the same in another Book, written a little before this; and in his Preface to a Book wrote against *Salmasius*, intituled, *Pop. Angl. Defens.* he tells his Readers, that *As prosperously as their Generals by Arms had broken the King's Power, and at last put him to Death; Quamque facili negotio nuper unus de multis, ipsum regem velut ab inferis resurgentem, inque illo libro post mortem edito, novis argutiis, & verborum lenociniis populo se venditantem, redarguit atque summovit. As easily as one of late did confute and confound the King himself, as it were rising from the dead, in that Book published after his Death, with new Enticements and Allurements of Words recommending him-*

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self to the People; so (forsooth) he may as happily bear down the *Petulance and Lies of that Foreign Declamator*. I have nothing to do to reflect on that ridiculous and proud comparison of himself with himself; but I remark only, that here he expressly owns the King himself to be the Author, and values himself upon writing against him. And (as he represents it) for gaining so easy a Victory over him; and yet once more, many Years after, in a Treatise call'd, *A ready and easy Way to establish a Free Commonwealth*, written in 1659, he hath these words; *Episcopacy, which no Son of Charles returning but will certainly bring back with him, if he regard the last and strictest Charge of his Father*: and then quotes the very words out of that Chapter to the Prince, and Prints them in *Italic Characters*, that they may be the more taken notice of, *so persevere in, not the Doctrine only but Government of the Church of England; not so neglect the speedy and effectual suppressing of Errors and Schisms*; and which in a Line or two after he again calls it, *That last and solemnest Paternal Charge*. So that *Milton* in this is constant to himself to the last; and from his *Answer* in 1649, Ten Years together, owns the King for the true Author.

Now from hence there are two Things to be observ'd: *First*; with Respect to the Case in Controversy, as to this Question, Who was the Author of this Book? *Milton* apparently is of our Side, and so we have got a new Evidence, never thought on before; and which I am to thank Mr. *Bayle* for, by giving me occasion to examine this Assertion, and such an Evidence too, as has always been thought of Weight, that is, the Evidence of an Adversary, and he a very bitter Enemy too; and the greater the Enmity the more Weight, because he could not say this out of any Partiality, or Kindness to the Cause to which he shewed such a malicious Averseness, and stuck at nothing, tho' never so false, to render it as odious as possibly he could. Besides, he was acquainted with the Intrigues, Designs, and Counsels of that Party, and knew every thing that any of them could inform concerning this Book, and especially when he was by them appointed to make Answer to it. Add to this, that either he was a Party, or else privy to that barbarous Usage of Bishop *Juxon*; whom, tho' they had given leave to wait on the King, yet imprison'd him; and not only so, but search'd his Pockets, ransack'd his Chests and Coffers, for any scraps and parcels, and withal examin'd him more than once, with the utmost scrutiny and diligence, concerning the King's Writings, Words and Actions, and took from him all they could lay their Hands on. So that in all their Inquiries, had there been but the least glimpse or umbrage relating to the questioning the Authority of this Book, as 'tis impossible but he must have known

it, so 'tis certain he would have made Noise enough about it, and play'd his Pranks upon it. So that as I take it, this must go, not only for the single Testimony of *Milton*, but of all the Party too, mutually agreeing, that King *Charles* himself, and no other Person, was the Author of this Book.

Secondly, The next thing to be observ'd from this positive Affirmation, relates not to the Cause, at least not directly, but to the Historian, and shews how much Mr. *Bayle* falls beneath the Character given him by the Author of his Life, when he fastens an affirmative Proposition on *Milton*, and says in express Terms, he maintain'd, That King *Charles* was not the Author of this Book; when he never maintain'd, never affirm'd, never directly said any such thing. Our *Critical Historian* therefore hath either invented this out of his own Head, or received it from false Information; either way it contradicts his Character, and reflects equally upon his Sincerity and Diligence. Will he call this examining things with the utmost niceness and exactness, even to scrupulosity. Is this to read Authors conditionally, and to avoid rash and precipitate Judgment? Is this to read all Books, as never to be impos'd on by the best Authors, and the most undoubted Truths? Does he call this the Spirit of Impartiality and Faithfulness? Why truly if he does, no body can help it; his Tongue is his own, and he may say what he please; but if this be the Case, then all the World hath hitherto been mistaken, and the giving a wrong Sence to Authors, must pass for the best Character of a Critick, and a false Relation, for that of an *Historian*.

The second Branch of Mr. *Bayle's* Assertion is, that *Time* has shewn he maintain'd this upon good Grounds. The connexion is, that *Milton* maintain'd the King was not the Author, and Time has shewn he maintain'd it on good Grounds. Now certainly if *Milton* never maintain'd it, as he never did, no Time, tho' never so long, could ever shew that he maintain'd it on good Grounds, or any Grounds at all; Time indeed hath a fruitful Womb, and brings many strange things to pass; but it could never do such a Feat as this, as to bring forth future Reasons for a Man's formerly doing that which he never did. This 'tis impossible for Time, or any thing else to do. But tho' Time cannot do that, yet it can and hath done something like it; for as Truth is the Daughter of Time, so are Lyes too; and when through tract of time, Truth lyes obscure, the evidence not so clear, or not so well known, 'tis easy for those who are so dispos'd, and have Consciences large enough to undertake it, to personate one Man for another, to ascribe the proper and peculiar Acts of one Person to whom they please; to make one Man the Author of a Work, who was
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never concern'd in it; and to make him no Author, who only compos'd it. Time it self indeed is innocent, but profligate Persons taking advantage of Times and Seasons, catch at all Opportunities to trump up their Forgeries to deceive the World. This Time hath shew'd, and we see it with our Eyes, and is fully manifest in the Question before us; and therefore altho' Time hath not shewn us that *Milton* maintain'd that the King was not the Author, which he never did maintain; yet it hath shewn us, that other Men pretended to maintain it, but upon what Grounds, whether good or bad, hath been fully debated in the Two former Books. And what are those Grounds? And here I must remark to the Reader, that in all Mr. *Bayle's* long Harangue there is nothing new, not the least addition of Reason or Argument to confirm any Particular, or to take off the force of the Answers and Objections made against them. But a dull, heavy and insipid Relation, and which he calls Mr. *Toland's Narrative*; wherein there is nothing else but an Account at large of that which is call'd my Lord of *Anglesey's Memorandum*; an Abbreviation of Dr. *Walker's* Book, and those that are called Mr. *North's* Papers. Now all these, and every part and particle of them have been answer'd already over and over, and except he had said something in Confirmation of those Stories, or in Disproof of my Answers, it is not only needless and superfluous, but impossible, that I should say any thing more than hitherto I have done: For when any Assertion is answer'd, and confuted, it remains so, till there is a new Reply made. And therefore if any Man desires Satisfaction, I must refer him to the other Books, where all those Narratives are examined. But that which is New, and which deserves to be consider'd, is that which follows.

After the Repetition of these Stories, he gives us this Note, (p. 2054.) Note, that in all this, I neither ought, nor can be consider'd, but as a mere Transcriber of *Milton's Life* publish'd in English. Nor also, that this Passage of the *Life of Milton* hath been oppos'd for Mr. *Wagstaffe* publish'd some Observations, to weaken the Testimony of my Lord *Anglesey*, the *Narrative* of Dr. *Walker*, and the Papers of Mr. *North*. But Mr. *Toland* hath refuted them all in his *Amyntor*, wherein he hath further discuss'd all the Testimonies that are alleg'd to assert the Property of *Icon Basilike* to King *Charles the First*; I was told, that as to both these Parts * of his Apology, he has omitted nothing that was necessary to maintain the true Evidence of his Proofs, and all the Strength they appear'd to have, before any one wrote against them. This is all that I can say, having

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* That is to say, the Answer to the Objections of Mr. *Wagstaffe*, and the Answer to the direct Proofs alleg'd by the Partizans of King *Charles*.

never read any thing that was written against him, or what was replied by him.

This is a dextrous Business, and a fine Piece of Slight of Hand; and if this be the Case, I would advise all Men, who seek after Truth, and intend to give themselves Satisfaction, to read the Authors themselves, and not to trust to any Dictionaries, or their Makers; for at this rate, they will never be able to distinguish between Right and Wrong, Truth and Falshood, and one Cause from another: And if this be the way of representing the State, or giving the History of Learning and Controversy, we must look upon History as nothing else but a Juggle, and Criticism as a mere Trick. He was sensible, this shameless Conduct needed an Apology and Excuse, but could not tell how to make it, or the Cause would not bear it. What Stuff is this from a Man of Learning? *I neither ought, nor can be consider'd, but as a mere Transcriber*: And why so, I pray? He that tells a Lye after another, is a Lyar himself, and responsible for the publishing it, if not for the original Lye; and he that transcribes after another and publishes it without Caution, is become a Party to it, and makes it so far his own Act and Deed. Suppose a virulent Libel against his own *States and High Mightinesses*, or a Book stuff'd with infamous Lyes, and Mr. Bayle should have undertaken to Publish and Print them in a Book of his own, I doubt the saying he was a *mere Transcriber*, would have been look'd upon but as a poor Excuse, and not have screen'd him from the Punishment due to the Libel it self, and the first Author. And tho' the Danger is not the same, the Reason and Conscience is, and extends and is applicable to all like Cases. The Publisher must bear his share in proportion to the Malignity and Faultiness of the Matter; the first Inventer may possibly be the principal Criminal, but he that Transcribes and Publishes is the second, and not much behind the first, and sometimes is far more faulty. In the mean time, what a fine Character have we got here! Are *History and Criticism* sunk to this at last, to be nothing but *mere Transcribing*? A very ordinary Talent sure is sufficient for such a Business. And are all those magnified Attributes of Learning, indefatigable Industry, and profound Judgment, dwindled at length into a *mere Transcriber*? Is this *examining Historical Facts with the greatest Niceness, and bordering upon Scrupulosity*? Is this *censuring the false Reasonings, and false Raileries of Controversists*? With what Face can a Man, who pretends to correct the Errors of all Writers, to dive into the darkest Cases, and to scan the most minute Circumstances; with what Face, I say, can such a Man say, *He neither ought, nor can be consider'd, but as a mere Transcriber*: And if it be

be so, and we must take his Word for it, then to be sure he neither is, nor can be consider'd as an *Historian* or *Critick*: for their Business is not only to transcribe, but to transcribe with Judgment too; to transcribe Truths, and to distinguish them from Errors; and not to transcribe Lyes or Forgeries, except it be to discover and confute them. But this is a stale and dull Artifice: When Men of Latitude have a mind to represent what they dare not own, and cannot defend, then they tell a Tale out of other Mens Works, and pretend to cloak their Malice; because forsooth they only rehearse other Mens Words, and not their own: But this is a Device so old, and withal so thin, that every body sees through it, and despises it; and however some little Politicos may please themselves with such Stratagems, they are utterly a Reproach to a Philosopher, or an Historian; such Ingredients ought never to be mingled with their Works, which stain their Characters, defile their better Performances, and make such *Historical Dictionaries* a meer Pack or Fardle, which upon the opening produces a monstrous mixture of Truth and Falshood, Forgeries and Matters of Fact, true and sophistical Reasonings, jumbled together in one and the same Book: without any Note of Discrimination to separate one from the other, but the Reader is left in a Maze and Labyrinth, to choose what he pleases: whereby Mr. Bayle (*in this Case*) involves himself in the same Guilt, and does the same thing, which he so industriously condemns in all Authors almost who went before him. Whereas, of all Men, the Hands of an Historian ought to be clean, his Intentions pure and innocent, his Relations impartial, without Spot or Byass; but a mere Transcriber is a mere Tool, who hands other Mens Errors into the World, and makes them his own.

Just such another wise Excuse is that which follows, that Mr. Toland *has omitted nothing that was necessary to maintain the full Evidence of his Proofs*, &c. How can he tell that? Why, he says *he was told so*. What boyish Excuses are these, how extremely childish and ridiculous do they appear, coming from the mouth of a learned Historian and grave Critick, as he accounted himself, and would have others so to esteem him? We are like to have a complete Dictionary, when it must be filled up with what every body told him. Did Mr. Bayle consider his Character, or consult the Honour of Himself or his Book, when he laid down a large Assertion, and that in a very important Cause too, even that of a Great King, and yet to have nothing in the world to support it, but that *he was told it*. He had a mind to give Mr. Toland a Lift of his Kindness, and say something in Favour of his Performance, but could not tell which way in the world to do it; and therefore

has recourse to the most foolish and impertinent of any, that *some body or other told him so* : And who was he that told him ? Was he a Fool or a Wise Man, Ignorant or Learned, Partial or Just ? The Character of his Person might possibly have given some weight, and why did he not name his Author ? That it seems he was ashamed of, left by discovering, it should have made the Case worse, and the Folly more apparent. I have been told too, and more than once, several things, which perhaps are not much to the Honour and Advantage of Mr. Bayle, or of his Works and Writings : But I do not think this a sufficient Reason, (tho' I think there is great difference between the Person of Mr. Bayle and that of King Charles, and particularly in point of Decency) I say, that is not a sufficient Reason for me to tell it again ; much less to publish it, if I had no better Grounds than mere Hearsay. However, whoever told him so, certainly told him a Lye, and it seems he had so little Honesty as to make himself a Party to it, and publish it to the World.

The next thing hath two Faces, when he says, *This Passage of Milton's Life has been opposed, for Mr. Wagstaffe published some Observations to weaken the Testimony, &c.* Now at the first Blush, this would seem as if he had acted with some kind of Impartiality, and had given notice to his Readers, of the Opposition, whereby they might not only be warn'd, that this was controverted, but might be excited to examine the Controversy themselves. This, I say, at first sight a Man might thus interpret : But it is nothing so, there is not the least tittle of directing his Readers, or of encouraging of them to examine the Controversy, not the least Word or Insinuation, as if there was any Hesitancy or Doubt, that any Man had need to look farther ; but all the contrary, he represents it as if the Controversy was at a Point, and no Man need trouble himself any more about it ; Mr. Toland had done the Business so sufficiently and effectually already, that no more could be said to it. Inasmuch, that the naming Mr. Wagstaffe here, was not to advertise his Reader, to look about him, and see what had been said on the other Side ; but only to display Mr. Toland's Triumph, to increase his Laurels, and to shew the Man whom he had vanquish'd, as it follows expressly : *But Mr. Toland hath refuted them all in his Amyntor* ; that is, all the Observations of Mr. Wagstaffe : So that 'tis plain, all that Mr. Wagstaffe was here brought in for, was to shew how Mr. Toland had refuted him ; and to the same purpose is the Marginal Note, only a little more extensive : For there he tells us, that he has not only answer'd the Objections of Mr. Wagstaffe, but also all the direct Proofs alledged by the Partizans of King CHARLES. Now this is a downright Falshood. Mr. Toland
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in his *Amyntor*, hath neither answer'd, nor pretended to answer, nor undertaken to answer any Body but Mr. *Wagstaffe* as to this *Question*, nor the twentieth part of his Book neither; but that it seems was too small a Victory to be recorded in so great a Dictionary; the Triumphs over one Man, were too little for such a mighty Hero. And tho' the Text gave him but a single Conquest, yet that must be supply'd by the Margent with the Addition of the whole Party, that something may be said worthy of so famous a Master, not only to have subdu'd so little a Man as Mr. *Wagstaffe*, but to have put to flight *all the Partizans of King Charles*. Horrible Arrogance and Folly! And 'tis hard to say, whether more proud or ridiculous, for a little, creeping, and contemptible Author, who was not able to deal with the very meanest of the King's Defenders, to get it recorded and proclaim'd to the World, that he had silenced the whole Party.

It deserves yet to be observ'd, that he says, *in all this I ought not, nor can be consider'd, but as a mere Transcriber of Milton's Life*. But if he ought to be consider'd as he really is, then he ought not to be consider'd as a *mere Transcriber*, for he hath inserted a great deal of his own that is not in that Life. For instance, he says in respect to this Book, *perhaps there never happen'd any thing more singular than this in what concerns the History of Books, the dispute about it hath been very fruitful in Books; the Parties have used all manner of Industry in their Discussions. This warrants me to give a particular Account of this Affair*. It seems by this, that he was well enough acquainted with the many Books publish'd on this Occasion; and makes the number of the Books, and the Industry of the Writers, his Warrant to give a particular Account of it. And is it not wonderfully strange, and especially in a Man, who tells his Readers over and over of his great Exactness, and who blames most Authors for a thousand times less, and less important Omissions; that in all that fruitfulness of Books, and among so many industrious Discussions, he could not find in his Heart to give his Reader the least Account of so much as one on the King's side, and in defence of his Title. This sure is a wild way of giving *particular Accounts*; He may if he please, call it a particular Account of Mr. *Toland*, or of *Amyntor*; but 'tis downright Nonsense, to call it a *particular Account of that Affair*: for some at least of those Books must certainly be allow'd to belong to *that Affair*; but this plainly shews his Partiality, and the Insincerity of his Conduct: In other very frivolous and trifling Occasions, he is for examining all *Punctilio's*, and nothing so little, but it deserves remark; particularly in the Article *Jardin*, (p. 1745.) he condemns *Richeler*, for omitting *her Acquaintances, what Parsons she had, what times her Books came out, the Dates of her Marriages*, and such

such like, and then concludes, *how can one call that a Narrative, in which so many essential Things are wanting.* And what was the Cause here? why, truly, of a Writer of Romances, and one of lewd Morals; for he himself says, *she utterly renounc'd Marriage, and resolv'd to spend the rest of her Days in Gallantry;* and it seems with him that her Acquaintances and Patrons were among those essential Things her Historian omitted. Mr. Bayle makes himself this Objection, *you may tell me doubtless that many Readers will not be angry at those Omissions.* But to that he answers, *that does not justify the Writer.* Now compare Mr. Bayle with Mr. Bayle, in a frivolous and infamous Cause, how nice, how punctual, even to the least Circumstance; but here, in a Case that by his own confession, *there never happen'd anything more singular,* and by the same Confession, *there were plenty of Books to be consulted,* and yet takes no notice of any of them, but slubbers it over, and drops every thing that is Essential to the Controversy; and at the same time with an unusual Confidence, pretends to give a particular Account of it; for all the Account we have from him, is just to name the Book, says it was translated, and where printed, and then immediately turns to *Milton*, and tells us *that he refused it;* it seems with him, every thing that is said against King Charles, is refuting, tho' it be nothing else but Lies and Impudence. But that which is yet worse than all this, he undertakes boldly to give a decisive Judgment in the Cause; for after having said that *Milton's* Opinion (that King Charles was not the Author) *had no Impression on Foreigners,* and that the contrary Opinion prevail'd in England, he adds, *which could not be beaten down by certain Matters of Fact, till at last some things have happen'd which have destroy'd it;* that is, have destroy'd that Opinion that King Charles was the Author, and that is confuting it with a Witness, even extinguishing it for ever. Now this is all his own, and not one word of it out of *Milton's* Life. He has given of his own Head, a peremptory and final Judgment of the whole Cause, and of himself hath condemn'd the Opinion of the King's being the Author to eternal Darkness. And what could all his transcribing be more, if he had transcrib'd never so much, it had been but what he had already declar'd of himself. He transcribes for instance, that Mr. North's Papers are a full proof of the Imposture, that Mrs. Gauden's Narrative proves irrefragably that her Husband was the Author; that altogether they complete the irrefragable Proofs of this matter of Fact. Now all these full Proofs and Irrefragables, are no more in other Words, than what he had asserted before in his own; inso-much that this Pretence of mere transcribing, is a mere Juggle; he personates himself as well as Mr. Toland, the Copy and Original are all of piece, a Chip of the same Block; the difference is only in the Expression, and what Mr. Toland calls *Irrefragable*, that Mr. Bayle says

says is downright *destroying*; but the Malice is the same, the Confidence equal. And we have yet a farther Specimen of Mr. *Bayle's* Malice in this Cause. He has given *Pamela's* Prayer at large, compar'd it with the *Arcadia*, and set down in two Columns one against another; and to what purpose was this inserted, and set out with so much Shew and Ostentation? It does not at all concern the Question, for whether the King us'd it or not us'd it, 'tis nothing to this point, who was the Author of this Book; and if any Argument may be drawn from it, 'tis directly against his Assertion: For if the use of the Prayer was genuine, why not the whole Book? there cannot a Word be said to prove the use of the Prayer, but what proves ten times more strongly, that the Book was the King's. But this was put in only to shew his Malice, how ready he was to catch at any thing that reflected on the King's Memory; for 'tis intirely foreign to the Case he had in hand. He says indeed, that *Milton made a great Noise about it*, and that is true; but what follows, that *Milton plac'd that Parallel at the end of his Answer*, is a plain and notorious Falshood; for *Milton* himself, placed neither the Prayer nor the Parallel at the end of his Answer, but Mr. *Toland* plac'd them there many Years after *Milton's* Death. So that in this short Paragraph, we have abundant Evidences, not only of his Negligence, Partiality and Malice, but of his Unaccurateness also; each of which sits very heavy on his Character.

And thus I have done with this *wise Note*, consider'd in the Lump and altogether, but it requires a more distinct and particular Examination; and in order to that, it is to be remembered, that Mr. *Bayle* calls his Book an *Historical and Critical Dictionary*. And if it answer'd the Title, we could expect no less than that all Matters represented should be exactly true, to answer the ends of *History*, but moreover clear'd with all Niceness, from all Errors and Mistakes to answer the ends of *Criticism*. But in the Case before us, our Author is neither an *Historian* nor *Critick*, and so far from answering the Ends of either, that he corrupts both; falsifies *History* by untrue and imperfect Relations, and prostitutes *Criticism* to the lust of a Party, by giving a wrong and partial Judgment both of Things and Persons; and to make this appear, it may be convenient to consider them severally.

First, For History. It is needless to say, that it is essential to an *Historian* to tell Truth, and that a Man who is indifferent whether he tells Truth or Falshood, whatever else he may be, he can be no *Historian*. It is likewise as needless to say, that whoever will tell Truth, must tell the whole Case; for if it be mangl'd and divided, and shred into Scraps and Parcels, tho' every one of these Parcels should chance to be true in themselves, it is no more the Truth of
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the Case, than an Arm or a Leg, tho' never so exactly drawn, is the Picture of the Man. And this is never more true, never more evident, than when there is a Matter of Fact; where are Witnesses on both sides, and a Question in Controversy which hath been disputed *pro* and *con*. No Man can be said to give a History of that Matter of Fact, or of that Question, who only represents the Evidence, and the Arguments and Reasons on one side only. Now this is the Question, Who was the Author of this Book, King *Charles* or any other? This has been debated on both sides; the Witnesses produc'd, Arguments urged, and Conclusions drawn, according as the Advocates on each side were inclin'd, or able to manage it. And now comes Mr. *Bayle*, with such a strain of History as never was heard of; and with Pomp and Ostentation, brings forth the Evidences and Reasons on one side only, but not one word or title of the other, which is a Character that suits well enough with a false Witness or a corrupt Judge, but is very unbecoming, and sits heavy on the Shoulders of an Historian. I do not know what peculiar Dispensation an *Historical Dictionary* may have, that whereas all other Historians are indispensably oblig'd to publish the Truth, and nothing but the Truth, a Writer of *Historical Dictionaries* may be privileged to write what he please; but if this be the case, in my poor Opinion, a *Poetical Dictionary* would have been a far more agreeable Title than an *Historical* one.

Let the best be said for Mr. *Bayle* in this Case that can be said, yet it will by no means excuse the Injustice and Inequality of his Conduct. Suppose that what he has said, is nothing but the Truth, and that he had really given the right state of the Case, and the true Relation; yet this notwithstanding, he would not have been a true *Historian*; and the Reason is, because one essential Branch is wanting, and that is, *parte inaudita altera*, the adverse Party is not heard: For if he is a corrupt Judge, as certainly he is, who will hear the Witnesses only on one side, even tho' he should decree what is just in it self; so is he an unjust Historian, even tho' he tells Truth, who tells only one side of the Controversy, and conceals the other. If it were granted, that Dr. *Gauden*, or any other was the Author, and that the Arguments and Proofs for it were clear and full; yet for all that, the Narrative would be defective, and the Historian corrupt, for utterly excluding the other party, and all their Testimonies and Reasons, and depriving the Reader of forming his own Judgement, according to the Validity of the respective Evidence. He may be called a mere *Transcriber*, as he styles himself, or a teller of a Tale after Mr. *Toland*; but it is impossible he can be said to give us the History of that Controversy. And so it seems our Author's Character rises apace; and from a profound and judicious

judicious Historian, he is at length advanc'd to be Mr. *Toland's* Zani.

But the true State of the Case is quite otherwise, and Mr. *Bayle* is so far from telling the Truth, that he tells his Readers nothing but what is wrong; he gives them the false side of the Case, and conceals the true: he produces Allegations and Testimonies, which are for the most part false, always suspicious, and often contradictory in Terms to one another. And these he hath dawb'd over, and set out to the best Advantage he was able; and which is yet worse, at the same time suppresses all and every one of the contrary Testimonies, which would apparently have confronted all the Evidences he mentions, and convincingly laid open to the World their Falshood. It is very easy, but withal very unjust and foul, to flourish over a Cause, when every thing that opposes it must be kept in the dark. But certainly this is to plead a Cause, and not to write a History; and a Man becomes a Party, and hath something else in his view besides historical Truth; and so long as Men give themselves such Liberties, there will not be much difference between an *Historian* and a *Knight of the Post*. This Author himself informs us, that *there is scarce any Fault of Omission, but makes a History deceitful*; (p. 2221.) and if every little Omission may reflect upon the Truth of the Story, and the Sincerity of the Historian, nay more, may make it deceitful, and betray the Readers into Errors and Mistakes; What must be the Consequences of leaving out one whole Branch of the Controversy, and that the truest? If the leaving out a Pin endangers the Fabrick, what must it do when the Beams and Side-Pieces are wanting? 'Tis certain he hath given us but half of the Controversy, and that the worst half too. And such criminal Omissions as these, can be for no other use, but to abuse and mislead his Readers: and so much the more, being disguis'd under the plausible name of History, which is a Name importing Truth and plain dealing, and where Men always expect Impartiality and unbiass'd Justice. 'Tis foul and scandalous in a Writer of Controversies, to conceal the force of his Adversaries Proofs and Reasons; but 'tis ten times worse in an Historian who (whatever his private Opinion may be) is bound to be indifferent, and of no side at all as to his Relations. But this Conduct of Mr. *Bayle* in this Article, is so very like the Author of *Amyntor*, that a Man would be tempted to believe, that that same Author guided Mr. *Bayle's* Pen, or was in this particular his *Amantien*; it looks as if the Cause was contagious. *Amyntor* in pretending to answer the *King's* *Indication*, left out the greatest part of the Arguments, and the Force of them all; and Mr. *Bayle* in pursuit of the same Matter, has given the finishing Stroke, and left them out altogether.

There is a farther Aggravation of his Disingenuity, and which reflects yet more severely on his Historical Character; and that is, that the Controversy has been thoroughly examin'd, and brought to a conclusion; whatsoever hath been offer'd on that side, hath been so far canvass'd, that the Adversary is intirely silenc'd, if not convinc'd. The Answer to *Amyntor*, call'd *the Royal Martyr's Defence*, if it be not unanswerable, 'tis certain that it hath never been answer'd; and all the Testimonies produc'd, stand uncontradicted; the Arguments remain in their full force, and nothing yet hath been said to weaken any one Assertion, or Sentence in that whole Book; and I will leave it with the Candor and Ingenuity of any Man in the World, whether he thinks a Controversy truly represented, or historically related, where the last Answer, and a Reply to all the Objections, is intirely and perfectly silenc'd, nay represented as if such a thing had never been. It was disingenuous enough, and needs nothing to aggravate it, that when Mr. Bayle had told his Story out of *Milton's Life* and *Amyntor*, that he totally omitted those Testimonies, Reasons and Arguments, which had been produc'd for the Vindication of King *Charles*, and which *Amyntor* pretends to answer, that so the Reasons and the Answers might be compar'd together. But 'tis yet far more disingenuous, after his own Author was silenc'd, had nothing at all to reply for himself, and had continued so for three Years at least before Mr. Bayle publisht his Dictionary; and in such a case to represent a *buffed Cause*, and to represent it with such immoderate Triumph, as if it had been invincible, and had utterly confounded all that durst but open their Mouths against it, is such a mixture of foul Ingredients, such a composition of Fraud and Imposture, of the want of Shame and Ingenuity, as well as Decency and Truth, that I appeal to all the Learning and Candor in the World, whether any Man, who hath the least spark of either of these Qualities, but must equally despise and abhor it. Suppose a Man should undertake to give a History of the Battle at *Hochsted*, and should tell that the *French* and *Bavarians* were so many Thousand strong; that they had taken the Field to the best advantage; that they attackt their Enemies with incredible Fury and Bravery; that both Horse and Foot fought with so much Valour and Conduct, that it was impossible for any of their Enemies to stand before them; and then leave it without going any farther, or ever coming to the Decision of the Battle. But lest every body should suspect the Knavery, as well as Folly of such a Relation, should add a Note, *That he ought only to be consider'd as a mere Transcriber out of some Pamphlets, or that somebody told him so*; he had heard indeed that the *High Allies* fought too; but he was sure the other were such valiant Men, that they must needs get the bet-

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ter, tho' for his part he had heard nothing of, nor concern'd himself about the final conclusion and end of the Battle. Now what Character, think you, would the World give of such a Tale, and Tales-Master? This is exactly the Case here, bating only the difference between Pen-Combats and downright Fighting. Mr. Toland's *Amyntor* hath been answer'd, and I hope I may with modesty say sufficiently answer'd; and there is not one single Instance mention'd by Mr. Bayle or *Amyntor*, but hath been abundantly consider'd and confuted; if not beyond reply, to be sure none hath yet been made to it, either by himself or by any other Person; and in this very Case the Controversy stood at the publishing of Mr. Bayle's *Dictionary*, and yet stands at this present without the least shadow of any thing to be offer'd, either in defence of Themselves or disproof of their Adversary. The Victory is hitherto complete on the King's side, and so it does and must remain 'till they know where to find new Forces, and to muster some better Witnesses and Reasons than they have yet done. But tho' this be the true state of the Case, and of the Controversy so far as it hath proceeded, yet that notwithstanding, out comes Mr. Bayle, tells us over again the old Tale of the Lord *Anglesey's Memor.* Dr. Walker's *Book*, Mrs. Gauden's *Narrative*; and tells us withal that these are undeniable Proofs, and irrefragable. But then as to the end of the Controversy, the Answer to each of these, and the entire Overthrow of all and every one of those Allegations, and the perpetual Silence that the Defenders of them have been put to; of all these not the least Word, as if they did not belong to the Cause. But where is the History all this while? What is become of that Faith, Truth and Impartiality of an Historian? Why truly as to that, he gives us a Leering Note that he is a mere Transcriber, (and that hath been consider'd already) and that Mr. Wagstaffe had publish'd some Observations, without mentioning those Observations, or the least Sentence or Word of them; and then that Mr. Toland hath refused them all, and not only so, but he had been told, that he had omitted nothing necessary to maintain their full Strength, before any body wrote against them. And is not this a fine piece of History? Is the Cause fairly opened, the Evidences of all Sides justly laid up, and prepar'd for Judgment? Wherein 'tis impossible for any Man to understand the State of the Case, the true Matters in difference, the Strength or Weakness of the Proofs, the Consistency or Inconsistency of the several Allegations, and consequently the most penetrating and sagacious Reader can never be able to give any manner of Judgment whereby to decide the Controversy in favour of what he esteems the most true. Why did not he tell us what those Observations were that Mr. Wagstaffe published, that his Reader might have us'd his own Judgment in the Case? Why for that he tells us,

that Mr. Toland hath refuted them all: However that be, refuted or not refuted, an Historian ought to have recited them, or at least abridg'd them, if he would have been just to the Cause, to the Reader, or to his own Character. He takes too much upon him, arrogates too much to his own Judgment, and undervalues his Readers, if he thinks his bare saying, *He refuted them all*, is sufficient to carry the Cause, and bear down all Inquiries; for let who will refute them, his business who pretends to give the History, had been to shew the Strength of the Adversary's Cause, as well as that of Mr. Toland's, and then left the Reader to have determin'd for himself; and if after the discussing the Cause on both Sides he had a mind to give his Verdict upon the Whole, he might have given his Opinion which way he pleas'd, and no body would have blamed him for that, whether he had given it right or wrong, because he us'd but his own Liberty: But to anticipate the Cause, and boldly assuming to himself an Authority of pronouncing Sentence, without the least Consideration of what hath been offer'd and prov'd to the contrary, is corrupt in it self, foul in any Man, but monstrous in an Historian. It is sufficient here to observe, that his Refuter (as he calls him) hath been refuted himself; *Amyntor* hath quitted the Field, and left it intirely to the *Defence of King Charles*, and in this posture the Controversy hath remain'd for these twelve Years. And with Mr. Bayle's Leave, and notwithstanding his idle Flourish, what is fully answer'd and perfectly silenc'd out of *Amyntor*, will not change its Nature, and become irrefragable so soon as it is translated or transcrib'd into Mr. Bayle's *Dictionary*. However, this is an unpardonable Fault in Mr. Bayle, that when he pretends to give the History of a Controversy, at the same time not only omits the Evidences and Arguments which were brought to justify the Cause it self, but perfectly suppresses all and every particular Answer that was made in Confutation of his own Author; and the final Conclusion of the Controversy is buried in the Grave, as if it had been utterly lost or never in being, and hath nothing in the World to uphold this foul and disingenious Proceeding, but that he had been told *That he had omitted nothing that was necessary to maintain his Proofs, before any one wrote against them*. Now this if it would have gone down with a partial or negligent Reader, it ought not to have satisfisd the Historian himself, whose Work is plainly to give the Case as it is, without Partiality and Affectiō. However, he says he was told so, but that makes it so much the worse; for if an Historian ought not to be diverted from telling the whole Case by any private and particular Judgment or Opinion of his own, much less sure by that of another Man, and howsoever or by whomsoever he was told it, it is plain that he heard it but with *one Ear*, which is the

the Character neither of a good Historian nor yet of a wise Man.

Secondly, We have seen how Mr. *Bayle* hath perform'd the part of an Historian in this Case; our next Inquiry is, How he behaves himself with respect to the other Qualification, of a *Critick*. Of this less need be said, because whatsoever hath been said before of the Historian, concludes yet more strongly against him as a Critick; for if a Man represents a Case falsely or imperfectly, 'tis impossible either for himself or his Readers to give any true Judgment of that Case: And the proper Work of a Critick, is more than that of an Historian, not only to tell Truth, but to search after it through all Mazes and Labyrinths, to set it in a fair Light, and to clear it of all Mistakes and Disguises; so thoroughly to examine and sift a Case, that if there be any Errors about it to rectify them, any false Glosses to correct them. A Critick must tell Truth, and moreover give an exact Judgment, and nicely separate from it what is Erroneous: He must dive deep to discover Truth, tho' it lies in the Bottom, and cover'd over with the Rubbish and Filth of Error; and then to discern the Good from the Evil, to weigh them in a Balance, where each thing being well examin'd, that only is suffer'd to preponderate, which by a wise and equal Judgment appears to be the best, most true, and the most evident. To apply this to the Case before us, in a controverted Point, which hath been manag'd by Advocates on both Sides, it will be yielded by all Men that no Man can sustain this Character, and undertake or perform the Office of a Critick, but he must seriously, fully and impartially consider and examine what hath been said on all Sides; and 'til that be done, he is no more able to judge of it than a blind Man of Colours, or a Deaf of Sounds; and if he should venture, he shoots at Rovers, certainly gives a rash Judgment, and if he should judge right, 'tis pure chance and not foresight. Now let us see how Mr. *Bayle*, in the Case before us, supports this Character, that he assumes to himself. He knows only, or pretends only to know, one side of the Question, or what hath been said of one side only; and is intirely, or at least pretends to be ignorant of the other; and at the same time hath the strange Confidence to tell his Readers so: And this is the Sum and Substance of the *Abuse* we are examining, and the End for which it was written; this adds Indiscretion to his Injustice, and must make every intelligent and discerning Reader laugh at him. He gives a very bold and arrogant Judgment concerning this Cause, and at the same time says in effect that he was by no means qualified to judge of it: 'Tis egregious Folly to pronounce Sentence of a Cause, that he had not examin'd; but 'tis ten times more so, after he had done it to acquaint his Readers that he

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was utterly incapable of giving such a Judgment. or any Judgment at all. He design'd this as an Apology, and the Guilt of his Conduct extorted it from him ; but every body sees how it flies in his Face, and confutes all that he hath said in this Cause ; for there needs no Art to draw these Consequences, every Man that thinks must make them for himself. That he that does not consider a Cause on both Sides, cannot understand it ; that he that cannot understand it, can make no Judgment of it, and much less a decisive Judgment ; and to it seems this *wise Note* destroys the Text, and ruins the *Historian* and *Critick*. In the Text, he assumes the Person of a Critick, and boldly gives Judgment ; but in his *Note* he demonstrates himself pragmatistical, in meddling with what he did not understand. And need any Man to be directed to these Inferences ? What did he meddle with the Controversy for, except he understood it ? Had it not been wiser to have let it alone, than to intangle himself, and by forced Apologies and Excuses to pull down with one Hand what he builds up with the other, and thereby to render himself ridiculous ? First of all he gives a bold Judgment for *Milron* and *Amyntor*, and against King *Charles* and his Partisans, and then at the same time gives another Judgment against himself, that he is by no means fit to judge in that Matter. I must needs confess, that how unjust soever he hath been to the Cause, he hath in this been very just to his Readers, (tho' I believe he never intended it ;) for though he hath given a very wrong Judgment, and with Assurance enough, yet he hath taken all due Care that no body should believe him, by assuring them at the same time *That he had never read any thing that was written against him*. It is impossible that any Evidence can be clearer against Mr. Bayle than his own Words : He hath declared, as plain as he could speak, That he knows nothing of the Matter, and that he neither is nor can be a fit Judge in the Case : And I defy any Man, who reads this, and is not sunk into the very Dregs of Prepossession and Partiality, to believe Mr. Bayle's Account of this Matter if he can. I shall conclude with a Paradox in it self, but true in this Case, We have got an *Historian* without Truth, and a *Critick* without Judgment.

Thirdly, To bring this Conviction more home upon Mr. Bayle, it may not be amiss to consider Mr. Bayle's own Rules, Directions and Practices ; what it is that he himself advises and prescribes, as commendable, fit and necessary in such Cases. And here we shall find him as much against himself as in the former : We shall find him evidently Self-condemn'd, and the Current of his own Judgment running plainly against him. I have not read much in Mr. Bayle's Dictionary, about fifteen or sixteen Leaves, but there I find enough almost in every Page that falls hard upon himself, and reflects severely

verely upon his unworthy Conduct in this particular : I shall select an Instance or two, as (p. 1119.) upon a Dispute between *Dn Plessis*, *Coffetau* and *Rivet*, concerning an Epistle that Pope *Pius II.* is said to have wrote to *Mahomet II.* the *Grand Seigneur*. The Controversy is, whether the Letter was valuable and worthy, and such like Matters of no great moment ; and it is a Question whether that Letter was ever sent or no, and yet upon such a poor occasion, which signifies little on which side soever the Controversy turns, let us see how wonderful nicely and cautiously Mr. *Bayle* delivers himself. And after having said how confident Language may prejudice those who are not wont to read Controversies, so as to discuss Matters, and collate the several Pieces, that the Answers and Replies may the better be compar'd together, and which is the way to prevent being impos'd upon ; and the Sum is, that to judge right they must read *Dn Plessis*, and *Coffetau* against him, and the Reply of *Rivet* to *Coffetau* ; And then concludes with these remarkable Words, *And this ought to warn us to obey the Precept Audi & alteram Partem, Hear also the other Party ; 'tis not sufficient to examine what John says, and what Peter answers, but we must also inform our selves what is answer'd to Peter.* Very good, this is wholsom Advice, and a Man would think as fit for himself to take as any other. What made him neglect his own Warning, and disobey that Precept he recommends to others ? For in the Case before us, there was first published a *Vindication of King Charles* ; then an Answer to it (such as it is) call'd *Amyntor* ; then a Reply to *Amyntor*, call'd *The Defence of the Vindication of King Charles*. And now comes Mr. *Bayle* with his *Warnings, Precepts and Collations*, and represents only the Stories of *Amyntor*, and with a fine Character to boot, but not the least Syllable of any thing said, either in the *Vindication* or the *Defence* : So that it seems this is *Ployden's Case*, he is a privileg'd Person, and stands exempted from his own Laws ; for here we must only see what *Peter* answers, but neither what *John* says, nor what is replied to *Peter* : So that his Precept here is a Nose of Wax, to be bended which way he pleases to serve his own Turn. I shall mention but one Instance more, being unwilling to tire the Reader and my self : And that is in a Controversy between *Maimburg, Jurieu, &c.* The Question was, Whether the *Marcionites* boasted of their Martyrs ? And after having abridg'd all the several Debates, he thus concludes, p. 1169 *It were to be wish'd that a good Critick would take the Pains to collect together all the Pieces of such Controversies, and place them one after another — It would be a Work of great use, either to discover the dissingenuity of some Disputants, or to accustom Authors to greater Exactness ; for knowing that few compare the Replies and Rejoinders scatter'd in many Volumes, they do not fear the Consequences of their dissingenuous Practices,* which

which they would certainly be afraid of, if they knew some would make such a Collection of the Objections and Answers, and of the Replies and Rejoinders, as will be most proper to shew in a moment the Strength and Weakness both of the one and the other. Can a Man write at this rate, and write with great Seriousness and Importunity; and in the compass of ten or twelve Sheets contradict every Word of it? I mean it of the worst kind of Contradiction, by practising himself the direct contrary. There cannot be a greater Reflection upon a learned Man, than when he is convicted by his own Rules and Sentiments; for it always manifests either want of Judgment or Hypocrisy, two very foul Characters of an *Historian* or *Critick*, if he does not know how to apply his own Rules, or prevaricates with them if he does, he loses all the Faith and Credit of his History, and enervates all Submission and Deference to his Judgment as a Critick: For what is such a Man's Judgment worth, who contradicts himself? or who will ever sit down by such a Man's Decision of a Cause, who in the same Decision shews either Inconsistency or Prevarication in acting in plain Contradiction to his own Measures? This will require very little Art or Skill to enforce it upon the Reader; for if he be a good Critick who takes the pains to collect together all the Pieces of Controversy, one after another, he must needs be a very bad Critick, who collects none of these Pieces, but brings upon the Stage one only, and gives a forward Judgment upon that with as much Assurance as if he had all before him. If the so doing would be a Work of great use to discover the Disingenuity of some Disputants, the contrary Practice is of no use at all, or of a very bad use to cover the Disingenuity of some Authors, (and particularly of Mr. Toland) to conceal their Faults, and hide the Weakness of their Reasonings, for want of comparing them with the Answers and Replies. Again, If the Collection of the Objections and Answers, Replies and Rejoinders, would not only shew the Reader the Strength or Weakness of the one and the other, but also make bold and confident Authors afraid of obtruding on the World Lies, Forgeries or sophistical Reasons, which they knew by such means could not escape discovery; then it clearly follows, that the contrary Practice serves only to encourage such Authors, to embolden and harden them in their Confidence, to screen their Errors, to conceal their Weakness, and which is yet worse, to countenance them and give them Authority, and as far as lies in the power of the Critick, and quite contrary to his Office, to spread them Abroad and propagate them to the World. I need not exemplify this in the Case of *Icon Basiliæ*, the Reader cannot chuse but apply it himself, and plainly see that Mr. Bayle, in that Case, violates not only all the Measures of Justice and Equity, but breaks through his own Rules, tramples upon his own ardent Wishes and Desires, and runs counter to his own Instructions,

Instructions; in one word, he condemns himself. And this I take to be the greatest Reproach and Insult that can possibly be made upon a *Critick*, there are no other Words, how hard or uncivil soever, that can stick so close to them, or gall them more. They are a Generation of Men infinitely fond of their own Opinions, and expect their Censures should stand for Oracles: these they value themselves upon, and esteem above all the World. So that if we had no other Advantage of the Cause, we have that which he values at a mighty Rate; we have the Honour of Mr. *Bayle's* own Opinion, and he stands condemn'd from his own Mouth. I shall therefore end this Particular with this *Dilemma*: Either he is a Critick, or no Critick; if no Critick, his Judgment and Censure are not much worth; if a Critick, he hath pass'd his Sentence against Himself.

I crave the Reader's Patience, to run over this *goodly Note* once more, but to other purposes than what hath hitherto been spoke to, and I pray him to pardon the necessary Repetitions I am forced to make, to accommodate them to this Occasion; and to observe,

I. What a mighty and glorious Account we have here given us of Mr. *Toland's* Performance; he is represented as triumphing not only over his particular Adversary, but over all the King's Partizans, as a great Conqueror carrying all before him, and nothing able to stand against him. *Amyntor* is a Book of such invincible and unanswerable Reasons, that it confutes backwards and forwards, not only all that went before it, but all that come after it too. This is certainly as much as can be said of any human Performance, and of the best Author that ever put Pen to Paper. And this will be apt to provoke any Man's Curiosity to see what there is in the Performance itself able to sustain so magnificent a Character, what Buttresses and Foundations there are to raise on them so lofty a Fabrick. And if upon Inquiry it proves slight and thin, mean and defective of all that is solid or rational, it will return home upon the lavish Commenders, and reflect severely on their Veracity or Judgment. For it is not the Custom of Wise Men to be extravagant and profuse in their Panegyricks, to throw them out at all adventure: But they always make choice of good Subjects, fit and sufficient to bear the Weight of them; for otherwise all their Praises recoil upon themselves; and instead of giving Reputation to others, destroy their own: disproportionate Commendation is the most foolish thing in the World, and it will move any Man's Stomach, instead of affecting his Fancy, to see a Coward set out in the Character of *Hercules* or *Ulysses*, or a paltry Versifier celebrated with the Encomiums of *Homer* or *Virgil*. This is not much unlike the Case here; a lean, empty and insignificant Au-

thor is set out with all the gaudy Trappings, of *refuting*, and of *omitting nothing necessary*, &c. And let any Reader (partial or impartial) provided he hath but an ordinary degree of Understanding, let him look into this egregious Performance call'd *Amyntor*, and try his utmost Partiality, and see if it be possible for him to find any thing that will suit with this Character; let him see if he can, what there is in the whole Book, or in any part of it, that will bear the Name of *Refuting*. Alas! that requires Reason, and Judgment, and close Arguing: and when Arguments are answer'd, when better Reasons are brought, and when something is introu'd that makes one Side prevail over the other; this I take to be the lowest Sense of *Refuting*. Whereas this applauded Author is so far from Refuting, that he has not Answered, nay not truly Repeated one single Argument in the whole Book. He has not reconcil'd one Contradiction charg'd upon that Side, he has not supported any one of his own Testimonies against the Attacks that have been made upon them. And yet notwithstanding here we are told, and with Assurance enough, that this doughty Author hath *omitted nothing that was necessary to maintain the Evidence of his Proofs*. 'Tis hard to know what he means by *Necessary*; 'tis a Term it seems, that varies its Sense according to Mens Opinions and Acceptations; some think it not necessary to take Notice of the most Material Things that belong to the Cause, or to answer Objections, or to consider the Value of Testimonies in Matters of Fact, which other Men think the most necessary of all; and this certainly must be Mr. Toland's Notion, if he thinks he hath *omitted nothing necessary to maintain the full Evidence of his Proofs*. For to my Apprehension and I believe to every other indifferent Man in this Controversy, these things are necessary; and which, if Mr. Toland would have made good this Character, and have maintain'd his Proofs, were *absolutely necessary*, for him to have done. As (1.) It was absolutely necessary for him to have supported his own Testimonys, and to have freed them from the plain and manifold Contradictions that were charged upon them. (2.) It was necessary for him to have reconcil'd Dr. Walker's Contradictions in his own Testimony, and to have given Satisfaction for his bold Assertions and Appeals to Heaven, contrary to the Truth, and Matter of Fact. (3.) It was necessary for him to have clear'd Dr. Gauden's own Testimony, (if ever he did attest it) and upon which the whole depends, from the Difficulties and Objections it is clogg'd with. (4.) It was necessary for him to have disprov'd, or weakened the direct and plain Testimonies which have been produced to prove King Charles the true Author, either by impairing their Credit, or by shewing some Inconsistency or Contradiction

in their Evidence. (5.) It was necessary for him to have consider'd and disprov'd the intrinsick Evidence that arises from the Nature of the Thing, and from the Book itself. These I suppose all indifferent Men will conclude necessary to be done in this Controversy: And if he hath *omitted* these, as certainly he hath, then I conceive, if we will speak Truth, we must conclude that instead of *omitting nothing that was necessary*, he hath omitted every thing that is necessary, and that is the plain Truth of the Case; for he hath not done one of these; but instead of that, often alters the State of the Question, immethodically jumbles together and confounds Things of a different Nature, preternits what is most material in the Controversy; and there is not one single Point, one Argument, one Proof that he hath fairly debated; but it is in the whole as mean and trifling a piece of Controversy perhaps as ever was publish'd. I am sensible what Disadvantage this Representation may lye under, that it does not look well for a Man to diminish his Adversary, and point him out with Terms of Scorn and Reproach: And this is true, and I subscribe to it in the general, that it is not becoming to insult an Adversary, and favours of Inhumanity. But then I pray that at the same time it may be consider'd, that the very Nature and Terms of the Case are here altered, and this is not trampling upon a weak Adversary, but vindicating the Truth, against audacious and confident Falshood. The Person we have now to deal with, hath not only manag'd his Cause weakly and pitifully, but he must hire somebody to proclaim his Weakness abroad for Victory, to translate his Folly and Meanness into Bays and Laurels. So that here he sustains a new Character, not of a weak Adversary, but of an insolent and proud one; and who by sordid and scandalous Artifices would build his Triumphs upon Forgeries, and the Ruine of Truth. And for my own part, he might have made as many Panegyricks upon himself as he had pleas'd, if the Case of the King had not been involv'd with it; I should never have meddled with his Top-sail, how high soever he had plac'd it; but when he raises his Arrogance on the Dishonour of the King, such Men and such Practices deserve no Quarter, and ought to have none: They are the wild and predatory Beasts of Learning, which all Men have a right to hunt and pursue to their Dens and Lurking-holes. Let any Man possess'd with the least degree of Learning, Candor and Ingenuity, descend into his own Breast, and see it be possible for him to reflect on the Meanness of this Conduct, without a suitable Resentment. It needs no Exaggeration, the plain Case without Rhetorick or Eloquence, sufficiently displays the Deformity of it. 'Tis neither more nor less than this. A Man undertakes a Cause, manages it

very lamely, triflingly and impertinently; and because no Honour or Reputation can grow from such Roots, he transplants it into a Foreign Country; and there though it be still the same barren Tree, yet the Soil and Climate are altered, and he gets somebody to cloath it with new and spurious Leaves, and to nickname it a most admirable and irrefragable Performance. Let any Man whatsoever duly reflect upon this, let him weigh these poor and mean spirited Shifts, and let him try the best Temper that ever he was Master of, and see if it be possible for him to conceive of such Tricks, but as the most infamous and contemptible amongst Men, as meer Juggles and Artifices, breaking through all that is Worthy, to gain a little precarious Fame and false Reputation, without the least real, or even apparent Ground or Foundation.

II. I have in the former Paragraph, consider'd this celebrated Book *Amyntor*, as it is in itself, and as it is an Answer to the *Vindication of King Charles*, and how worthily it sustains that termagant Character, and those labour'd Encomiums given to it. But now I come to animadvert on it, under another Consideration, and that is, that this *Amyntor* hath been answer'd in a Book called *The Defence of the Vindication of King Charles*. And this will aggravate the Disingenuity and Foulness of this Practice by many Degrees, and make it appear in its true Shape. And in order to this, I pray the Reader to observe, that *Amyntor* was not only answer'd, his trifling Exceptions replied to, his little Evasions exposed, his poor Shifts and Artifices laid open, his Weakness and Inconsistencies made plain and palpable; but that it remains thus answer'd to all Intents and purposes to this very Day. Mr. Toland hath left the Cause and forsaken it, and hath not one single Word to say for Himself, and against his Adversary. Now in such a Case as this every Man will imagine, that if such a Man had a mind to magnify and boast of himself, and give Praise and Reputation to his Performance, something or other must be said to take off the Force of this *Grand Objection*, for it looks a little impudently for a Man to boast of the Victory, when all Men knew he run away clear out of the Field; and it partakes too much of the Forehead to cry out he hath carried the Cause, when at the same time all that ever he had said was effectually answer'd, and he himself eternally silenc'd: And therefore to help us out at this dead Lift, and to stop this Gap, we are told with wonderful Sagacity and deep reach, *That this same Mr. Toland has omitted nothing that was necessary to maintain the full Evidence of his Proofs, and all the Strength they appeared to have, before any one wrote against him.* Here the Reader sees the extraordinary Reach of our refuting Author, that he answers at once all past, present

sent and to come; and this it seems must pass, to supply the Defect of justly considering what was replied to him, and to give some pretence for raising such magnificent Titles and Attributes, because, forsooth; out of a strange Prospect and Foresight he had chain'd up Futurity, and done the Business *before any one wrote against him*. Now, setting aside the Sense of these Expressions, it must be granted that if ever he did it at all, it must be *before any Man wrote against him*; for 'tis most certain that he hath never been able to do any thing since, but hath intirely abandon'd the Cause, and hath never from that time to this offer'd the least Syllable to just fy himself or defend his Cause: And methinks this is but an odd sort of a Commendation, he maintain'd the Evidence of his Proofs *before any Man wrote against him*, but had not one Word to say for himself after he had been wrote against; just as if a Man should say such a Fort or Castle was admirably contriv'd, strongly fortify'd, and appear'd invincible before any Man attack'd it; but so soon as Forces were drawn up against it, it was batter'd to the Ground, and beaten into Dust. All the World have a quite contrary Notion of *maintaining*; all Men hitherto have thought, that to *maintain* a thing; is to keep it safe and secure against all the Opposition that is made against it: And if Mr. Toland had *maintain'd the Evidence of his Proofs*, he must have maintain'd them against the Objections his Adversary had made to them. But that it seems is none of Mr. Toland's Faculty; he can propose his Proofs and Evidences. (as he calls them) but for the *maintaining them*, he hath e'en left them to shift for themselves as well as they can; except he thinks the putting them into Mr. Bayle's Dictionary, like an invincible Bulwark, would secure them from all Attacks, and all Censures: And if it would have done that, it had been too late, for *Amyntor* was answer'd long before it had crept into that Sanctuary; and all his Evidences and Proofs, and whatsoever he had been able to offer, had been fully examined and entirely quitted by him, and left to the Mercy of his Adversary, and the Judgment of the World. And what does he mean by *all the Strength they appear'd to have before* &c. All the Strength they *really* had before, no doubt they had afterwards; that is, none at all: But what they *appear'd to have*, is no body knows what; for *Appearances* are according to the Make and Frame of Mens Eyes, according to their Soundness, or Defects and Disorders. Some have such a thick Film over their Eyes, that they cannot see the plainest and most Evident Proofs in the World: and others again are so clear sighted, that they can perceive downright Contradictions, and direct Forgeries as plain and manifest Proofs. And therefore to have brought this large and ambiguous Expression to a plain and determinate Sense, he ought to have told us to whom the

the Strength of his Proofs *appear'd*, and then by judging of their Complexity and Constitution, we might have determin'd by the Quality of their Sight, whether they saw clearly, or through a distemper'd Organ, or an undue Medium: For I am apt to believe that any Man, who hath his Eyes in his Head, and does not look through Mr. Toland's Spectacles, will be so far from finding any real Strength of Evidences and Proofs, that he will not so much as find any *appearance* of it in that whole Performance. In the mean time, what clunty Expressions have we got here? a company of round-about Words, and superfluously lengthning a Period, which would have been dispatch'd more intelligibly in two or three. As for Instance, *He hath maintain'd the full Strength of his Proofs*; but this it seems was not so fit for an Orator, who must dilate and spread himself copiously and at large, *He hath omitted nothing that was necessary to maintain the full Evidence of his Proofs, and all the Strength they appear'd to have.* I do not mention this, as if I had any such low Purpose to quarrel with his Expressions, let every Man express himself according to his own Way and Talent; but upon another Account, and I believe any Man who will look over these Expressions with any Care, and consider the Turn and Circumlocution that is in them, the Phrase and Manner of Thought, he will find them both as to Matter and Form of the same Style and Eloquence with *Amyntor*: It is a Period that that Book hath many very like it; and perhaps it may be no great Stretch of Thought to guess, that they have both the same Father, and Mr. Toland may be the Penner of this, and Mr. Bayle only lent his Name. Mr. Bayle tells us plainly he was told this, and Mr. Toland may be his Informer as well as another; and then we have got such a piece of Ingenuity, as perhaps was never heard of in the World before, for a Man to blow a Trumpet before his own Praises, to subscribe his own Commendations, and place them in a Dictionary to be spread about the World: It hath always been reckon'd a great piece of Vanity for a Man to commend himself, and argues great Meanness and Poverty of Spirit. But this as far exceeds that, as a Proclamation does a Whisper, as the publick Fame of the World does a private Discourse: If a Man speaks too well of himself, he cannot escape the Note of Assuming and Pride; of what bulk and magnitude then must that Pride be, how high must it swell, when he endeavours to blow about his own Glory from Climate to Climate, from one Nation to another, and after all hath fill'd only a great Bladder of Wind, which upon the least Prick sinks into nothing. And to shew this in its true Colours, I pray the Reader's Leave to repeat once more the true Circumstances of the Case; and it is plainly thus: This Author had written a trifling Book, defective in every Particular in those things
which

which he ought to have maintain'd and answer'd, and those Defects plainly shewn in the Reply to him; and all his Wandrings and Ramblings so plainly detected, that he had not one Word to say to it. And what is now to be done? Answer he cannot; that is a Task too heavy for his Shoulders, and therefore he casts about, and to boustler up his Cause and his own Credit he gets this Matter finely represented in a foreign Country, and a foreign Language, among People who knew not the Controversy, nor are able to understand the Originals; and there having a Power to say what he please, and nobody to contradict him, he gives himself Triumphs and Victories, and whatever great Things he had a mind to say of himself. Now I confess I want Help; my Faculties are at an end, I have not Words to express the foulness of this Practice and Conduct, 'tis transcendent in its kind; for as some things are so excellent that they are above Expression, others are so vile that they are below them, and we have no Words bad enough to give an adequate and commensurate Description of them: This is not only filling Bladders of Wind, and puffing himself up with Vanity and Folly; 'tis not only Artifice and Trick, that what he could not gain by Proof and Argument, he endeavours by indirect Means, and attempts covertly by Delusions and Impostures; 'tis not only the worst kind of Plagiarism, to steal to himself Praises and Glories after the manner of common Thieves, lurking and in the Dark, and raising imaginary Triumphs, and then Fathering them upon himself; but 'tis all these together, and a great deal more. For my own part, I can liken it to nothing more than to the Methods used by the Rebels against King *Charles* the First; it was usual with them (and perhaps our Author took his Example from them) whensoever they had been soundly Beaten by the King's Forces, to hire their mercenary Writers to publish their great and glorious Victories; and to add Blasphemies to their Lyes, and to mock God as well as Men, to order solemn Prayers, Preachings and Thanksgivings; and this served a present Turn, deceiv'd the People, and encourag'd them to bring in their Money. And this it seems is the fittest for Mr. *Toland's* Imitation; the same Cause must always be carried on by the same Methods; the Iniquity of the Originals runs down like an hereditary Disease, and infects every Branch of the Cause and all Persons concern'd in it. Our Author is confuted and silenc'd at Home, and then he runs beyond Sea, and proclaims his Victories, and gets his Triumphs registred: But I doubt not with the same success; for *Holland* would not afford him Bodkins and Thimbles, and Contributions, but he was forc'd to do it *gratis*, nay perhaps to pay for it, and all he could propose to himself, was only an empty and imaginary Reputation; and e'en that fails him, for 'tis incident

to all Tricks, that so soon as they are discover'd, they reflect upon the Authors, and instead of gaining Reputation, render them infamous, and expose them to the utmost contempt. If a Man defends a Cause weakly, something may be said in mitigation, either the Cause it self or his Abilities would not bear it; it may be Mistake or Infirmary of Nature, which may deserve Pity and Compassion: But what can be said, when this same Weakness resolves, whatever comes on't, to be victorious and triumphant, and takes indirect and fraudulent Courses to notify sham Victories to the World; then tis no longer Infirmary but Corruption, commences Presumption and Arrogance, join'd with Fraud and Imposture, and of a weak Defender is transform'd into an ambitious, and at the same time an impertinent and false Pretender to Fame and Glory; and I am confident the best Apologist that ever wrote, can never give a fair side to it, or by any Art cover or extenuate it.

I have nothing farther to advertise the Reader, but to pray his Excuse that this (such as it is) comes out so late; He will easily see it was not for any difficulty in the Work, and I have had most of these Papers lying by me for more than eighteen Months, but I staid for some new Testimonies, which are of more Importance in the Cause than a thousand Confutations of Mr. Bayle. Some of which I have, as the Reader will find in the Book, and others I had been promised, but the Gentlemen thought fit to go from their Words; whether they thought the giving their Names unseasonable, and for what other Reason it does not become me to inquire.

A
 VINDICATION
 O F
 King Charles I. &c.

THIS of late is become a Controversy, and hath exercised several Pens: and the Province I have undertaken, is to digest the whole into as plain and familiar a Method as I am able, to represent the Exceptions fairly, and to answer them; to add to, illustrate and confirm what I conceive needs it, to sum up the Evidence on both sides, and to compare them, and to make such Remarks as plainly arise from the Respective Evidence; and by that time I have done this, it will, I presume, be very easy for the Reader to determine the Controversy, and to assign the true Author of this Book, and repudiate the false one, and Pretender.

In order to this, I shall in the first place consider a *Memorandum*, said to be written by my Lord of *Anglesey*, in a vacant Page of one of these Printed Books, which is in these Words.

M E M O R A N D U M.

King Charles the Second, and the Duke of York did both (in the last Session of Parliament 1675, when I shewed them in the Lords House, the written Copy of this Book, wherein are some Corrections, written with the late King Charles the First's own Hand) assure me, that this was none of the said King's compiling, but made by Doctor Gauden, Bishop of Exeter, which I here insert for the undeceiving others in this Point, by attesting so much under my Hand:

Anglesey.

To this it hath already been answered, That both the said Kings I have attested the contrary by their *Letters Patents* to Mr. *Royson*, granting him the sole Privilege to Print all the Works of King *Charles* the First. Those of King *Charles* the Second bear Date, Nov. 29. 1660. and expressly mention the Fidelity of Mr. *Royson* to King *Charles* the First, and to himself, and in these remarkable Words; *In Printing and Publishing many Messages and Papers of our said Blessed Father, especially those most excellent Discourses and Soliloquies, by the Name of ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗΝ*. Those of King *James* bear date Febr. 22. 1685, and expressly refer to the first Edition of the King's Works, 1662, in which his Majesty declares, That *all the Works of his Royal Father were Collected and Published*. Now a Man would imagine, that there could not be any possible Dispute, which was to be prefer'd, a Publick and Authoritative Attestation of the Kings themselves, or a private *Memorandum* by a third person. For the immediate Question here is, not *Who was the Author of this Book?* But who was so in the *Opinion* and *Judgment* of those two Kings? And I would fain know, Whether the Testimony of my Lord of *Anglesey* is a better proof of their Sense and Judgment, than their own Testimony; or a private, obscure, unattested, posthumous *Hand-writing*, a more valid Evidence, than the *Broad Seals*? And this, one would think abundantly sufficient to determine this part of the Controversy, that is, that a Man's Word is to be taken for his own Sense and Opinion before that of his Neighbours, and that high and authoritative Evidence is always to carry the Cause in opposition to that which is no Evidence at all.

However (as clear as this is) Dr. *Walker* hath something to say to it, tho', I think stranger Answers were never given in such a Case. And in the first place he tells us, *Pag. 23*. That good *Manners* rather than want of good *Reasons* restrain him from fuller answering: meaning, I presume, that these Kings did not speak Truth, tho' he would not say so; and accordingly he says afterwards, *it was but conniving at a vulgar Error, which it was not their Interest too nicely to discover*. Now this Answer plainly gives up the Cause it pretends to maintain; for if it was *not their Interest to discover it*, how came they both so frankly to tell it to my Lord of *Anglesey*? and as the *Memorandum* speaks, *they both did assure him, that it was none of the said King's Compiling*; and that, I think, is a little more than a nice Discovery, even a very plain and peremptory Assurance. So that if this be an Answer to the *Letters Patents*, 'tis equally so to the *Memorandum*. And the same Interest, I suppose, which kept it a *Secret* from the whole Kingdom, would have kept it a *Secret* from my Lord of *Anglesey* too, especially considering that it was not only far more easy, but also far more honourable, to have concealed a mat-

ter of Fact within their Knowledge, than to have wrongfully attested it, and contrary to their Knowledge, under the Great Seal of England.

But notwithstanding that, Dr. Walker in further pursuit of this scandalous Answer tells us, that this is *Odiosum Argumentum*, designed not for real proof, but to involve the Answerer in some Odium or Danger, and which Respondents may dismiss unreplyed to, not because they cannot, but because they dare not answer it. Why, what was the matter? what Danger was there in reflecting on those two Kings, had the Doctor spoke out, and in expresse Terms declared his Mind? Was he afraid to be called to account, and punished for it? A Man who reads this would imagine, that the Doctor was a perfect Stranger in his own Country; and that he wrote his Book in some remote Corner of the World. But when he daily heard the vilest things spoke of those two Kings (especially one of them) that ever were said, not only of Kings, but of the worst of Men; when a great part of this pass'd into the World not by stealth or connivance, but under the Authority of a *License*, and in truth seem'd meritorious; in such a case to talk of *Odium*, and *Danger*, and *Fear*, is to scorn his Readers, and to suppose they had all lost their Senses. And therefore in plain terms the Doctor did not know how fairly to answer this, and created imaginary and invincible *Odiums* and *Dangers*, to get rid of an Argument he could not tell what to do with.

However, in the next place, the Doctor answers, That *Kings use not so critically to inspect all the minute Particulars of their general Royal Grants*. Meaning, no doubt, that the *Errata Baconiana* was such a *minute Particular*, as needed great *Criticalness* to find it out among the rest, whereas all the World knows what a mighty Figure that Book bears among the renowned Works of that Glorious Martyr. And the truth is, this Answer plainly insinuates, that those two Kings knew nothing at all of this Book's being inserted among the rest of their Father's Work's; and accordingly he tells us, that *an Under Secretary or Clerk, who drew the Parents, put in what Mr. Rowton reckoned up, and desired; and never boggled at inserting it among King Charles's Works*. Now this is such an Answer, that to reply to it, would be as shameless as to urge it, and would equally reproach the Reader; for if the Doctor himself either did or could suppose, or if any other Man can suppose, that these two Kings did not believe that this Book was inserted among the rest, nay, that they could possibly believe, but that it was design'd as a main and principal part, which for so many years bore their Father's Name, and was more known and taken notice of than any of the rest, it is high time to leave disputing, or to convince Men by rational Motives or Credibility: and let this hereafter go for a Rule, that the best way

to gain belief, is to propound the most incredible things in the World. For if any Man who knows the state of this Matter, the current Sense of this Kingdom, and the general Estimation concerning the Author of that Book, can believe, that these two Kings did not think, or could otherwise than think that it would be inserted among their Father's Works. That Man may believe any thing, and if he will take this for an Answer, there is nothing how impossible or incredible soever, but he may give his assent to. So that let it be granted, that Kings do not always critically examine the Transcript of their Royal Grants, except they neglected their Memories and Understandings, and left them also to *Under Secretaries and Clerks*: it is not possible for any Man to believe, but that they knew that their Father was universally acknowledged and reputed for the Author of that Book, and consequently, that a Grant to Reprint his Works, must of necessity include that, altho' it had not been particularly expressed in the Grant it self. But when this excellent Book is not only particularly expressed, but mentioned also with particular Characters and Marks of Recommendation, to talk of *Critical Inspection*, and of *Under-Secretaries and Clerks*, is to suppose, that *Under-Secretaries and Clerks* make Royal Grants, and not Kings themselves.

However, the Doctor adds, *What understanding Man believes all the other particular Pieces, which make up the whole Volume of the King's Works, to be originally penned by himself but knows many of them were prepared by his Secretaries and Council, and then perused and approved of by him, and so became his, by adding the Royal Stamp of his Approbation, and owning of them; and the same was designed in this Book, Very good, then*

1. It seems Things prepared by Secretaries and Council become the King's by his *Perusal and approving* them; and so I hope do *Letters Patents* too; and therefore let the Grants to Mr. *Roxton* be drawn by what *Under-Secretary or Clerk* the Doctor pleases, if they came to be the acts of the respective Kings, by their *Perusal and Approbation of them*, then it is plain they testified their *Royal Father* was the Author of this Book, and so the Doctor both contradicts and confutes himself.

2. When the Doctor's Hand was in, I wonder he did not tell us, that the Papers of Mr. *Henderson* to the King, and the Particulars insisted on by the Parliaments Commissioners at the Treaty at *Uxbridge*, were not originally penned by the King, and which are inserted in the Volume of the King's Works. And this would have been a plain Case, and must needs have been granted him. And what then? Why then by the Doctor's way of arguing, neither the King's Papers to Mr. *Henderson*, nor his Papers about *Episcopacy* were originally penned by him; or that because these

these two Kings did not believe, that those things inserted in the King's Works [as relating to them] which bear the Name of other Authors, were not of his own penning; therefore they believed, that the Writing which bears his own Name, was not penned by him neither, altho' they mention it as written by himself. These are pleasant Consequences.

3. Be it granted that *Proclamations* and such things are originally penned by Secretaries, and become the King's, by adding his Royal Authority; what is this to *Books*? *Proclamations* are really the King's Acts, because they derive their Validity and Authority from *Him*, whoever pens them. But *Books* are quite of another nature; no *Royal Stamp* can make a *Book* the King's own, which he did not pen himself. And therefore those Attestations in the *Royal Grants* concerning the *Works* of the Royal Martyr, are to be understood according to the nature of things, that is they attest the respective parts of that Volume were his Works, in that sense in which they were *his Works*. *Proclamations*, &c. were his by adding his Authority, and they were the same Acts of the King to all purposes of Law, whether penned by himself, or by his Secretaries. But a *Book* in no sense can be said to be the King's, of which he is not the Author. And therefore these two Kings attesting that this *Book* was their *Royal Father's*, it plainly means, in that sense in which a *Book* is said to be so; and that is, not by adopting it by consent and approbation, but by penning and writing it. And it is a pleasant Consequence indeed, *Proclamations* are the King's by his Consent and Authority whoever pens them, and therefore *Books* that bear his Name are so too. Well! No body knows what a strange thing Reason is, when it falls into the Hands of some Men.

The Doctor still adds, *Admit Mr. Royston had obtained a Patent for the sole Printing the Works of King David, and had got it explicitly inserted, all the Works of King David, that is, the whole Book of Psalms, containing in number one hundred and fifty; would it have followed hence, that he who granted this Patent, had published to all the World that he knew and believed, that David was the real Penman of them all, tho' some of them were certainly written some Ages after David's Death.* No truly, it would not have followed; nor does it follow from the Grant of these Kings to Reprint their Father's Works, that therefore they believed the King was the real Penman of Mr. *Henderson's Papers*. But (by the Doctor's good favour) this would have followed; that if King *Solomon* had granted a Patent to Collect or Print (had Printing been then in use) his Father's Psalms, and had expressly and especially mentioned three or four as his Father's, it is plain that he must be understood to believe that those were penned by his Father.

Having

Having thus dispatched Dr. Walker's Answers, I have yet something farther to observe concerning this *Memorandum*; and which seems sufficient to overthrow the Validity of it: and that which I shall observe is taken from the *Memorandum* it self. Intrinsic Proof taken from things themselves, is generally the most clear and convincing: Frauds and Impositions are seldom managed with such art and exactness, but a discerning Eye may easily discover them; and in this *Memorandum* there are some observable Circumstances that make it highly liable to suspicion, I mean, that it was never made by my Lord of *Anglesey*, but forged by some other Person, for the very Ends for which it hath been so often produced. And the first thing I have to observe, is that Bishop *Gauden* is here called the Bishop of *Exeter*, and it is so far true, that he had been Bishop of *Exeter*, but he was afterwards, and long before that Parliament in 1675 translated to *Worcester*, and he died in possession of that Bishoprick; and it is not only inaccurate, but very unreasonable to suppose, that the two Royal Brothers should at that time call him Bishop of *Exeter*, when they certainly knew, that he was after that Bishop of *Worcester*; and much less that my Lord *Anglesey* should so call him, who was always observ'd to be very nice and punctual, in whatever pass'd under his Hands, either with respect to Persons, or to other Matters. Men who are denominated from their Places, are always entitled according to the Station they last hold: as for instance, suppose a Person who had been Chancellor of the Exchequer, and after Lord Treasurer, it would be ridiculous, and little less than Nonsense, to mention that Person under the Style and Character of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, except the Matter of the Relation had required it; and then it would have been done with Terms of Qualification, as the *then* Chancellor, or who had been *formerly* Chancellor: But this has no manner of Reference to the Case here; for if he ever wrote the Book, it must have been long before he ever came to *Exeter*; and instead of being call'd Bishop of *Exeter*, he should have been call'd Dean of *Rocking*. But to draw the Case nearer; the present Bishop of *Winchester* was also formerly Bishop of *Exeter*; and would it not be a strange Solecism in Speech, if there was occasion to mention him, to style him still Bishop of *Exeter*? This would look very extravagant, not only as an uncorrect Blunder, but as a Falsity in Matter of Fact; for when once a Man leaves a Place, at the same time the Denomination from that Place is extinct as to him; and 'tis very unsuitable Language, not only for the *King*, the *Duke*, and my Lord *Anglesey*, but ev'n for common Discourse: and 'tis next to impossible, that the King should call Dr. *Gauden* Bishop of *Exeter*,
when

when he himself had given him *Worcester*; and which both the Duke and my Lord *Anglesey* were very well acquainted with. And all this is very much strengthened, and makes it far more improbable, if (as they report it) the King gave him *Worcester* purely on this Consideration, that he wrote the Book.

But besides this, there are several other things very considerable that may be observ'd from the *Memorandum* itself; for if it be defective in some Points, that are very material in a thing of this Nature, if it discovers a great Faultiness, with respect to the very End for which it was pretended to be made; then it is apparently unworthy of the Prudence and Foresight of my Lord of *Anglesey*, and deserves to be ascribed to some other Author. For the Proof of this, I shall take my Measures from the last Words of the *Memorandum*, which plainly declare the End for which it was made, and for that Reason declare that it was not made, nor sign'd by the said Lord. The Words are these: *Which I here insert for the undeceiving others in this Point, by attesting so much under my Hand.* Now here are these things observable, and which in every respect make this *Memorandum* defective and insufficient for the attaining this End.

I. It bears no Date.

II. It is not attested by any Witnesses.

III. It was the most unlikely Course, to answer the Ends of the *Memorandum* it self.

IV. 'Tis unaccountable, that the *Memorandum* should be inserted in a loose Leaf of a Printed Book, and not in that Manuscript it self, which his Lordship is said to have shewn to the King and the Duke.

V. There is no appearance that this was said to any other Person.

I. It bears no Date, and that in a double respect.

1. With respect to the exact time when the King and the Duke gave the Lord of *Anglesey* this Assurance. It says indeed, *in the last Session of Parliament, 1675.* But this is expressed very ambiguously, and the Question is, Whether by *last Session* the *Memorandum* means the *last* before the writing the *Memorandum*, or with respect to it, or the last Session of that year. If the *last* with respect to the writing of the *Memorandum*; then we are not directed by the *Memorandum* when that Session was; for it self having no Date, we have no possible means to know the time of that Session. And it is not only unaccurate upon all accounts, but abundantly faulty in a Testimonial of this Nature, to direct us to a determinate time when such Words were spoken, and yet leave the World utterly in the dark, when that time was, *i. e.* in short, these Words were spoken nobody knows when, and (as the Case stands) it is impossible they

ever should know. *i. e.* 'Tis plainly a suspicious Evidence, as giving Testimony to a matter of Fact, without fixing any determinate time in which it was perform'd. But if the *Memorandum* had been more punctual in this particular, and had given a handle to have known what particular *Session* was meant; or if by the *last Session* is to be understood the *last* of that year. This is also liable to considerable Inconvenience, as being a space of time too large and loose, to found a competent Evidence upon; a *Session of Parliament* may continue five, six, or seven Months; and so we have a matter of Fact fasten'd to the compass of an hundred, two hundred, or more days. A pleasant Evidence indeed, and much to be relied on; every Man knows what great Weight there is in the Circumstance of Time, with respect to the Credibility of any Testimony. And if the compass be laid large and wide, it is an argument of great suspicion, especially if the Matter said to be done, was at no great distance from the time of giving this Evidence. If a Man within a year, or sooner, should evidence in Court, that such a Fact was done in Parliament, during such a Session, and at the same time could not tell whether it was at the beginning, about the middle, or towards the latter end of that Session, and withal being himself a Member of Parliament, and actually sitting; I would fain know whether this be not a just and reasonable Prejudice against the competency of such Evidence. Now this *Memorandum* plainly labours under this Prejudice, and which is yet more, it can never be removed, because there are no possible ways left to explain it, or to bring it into a narrower compass of time, as all unexceptionable Evidence ought to be; and therefore I shall leave it to the consideration of all wise Men, whether they can believe that a person of my Lord of *Anglesey's* Prudence and Caution would transmit to Posterity, and with a design too to undeceive others, such a *Memorandum* as is so palpably defective, and liable to just exception, in such a material point as plainly relates to the validity of any Evidence; for this I take to be Demonstration, that if my Lord of *Anglesey* had himself *viva voce* given all the Words of this *Memorandum* in Evidence, and at the same time had not been able to answer the foregoing Questions, Whether these Words of King *Charles* and his Royal Brother were spoken about the beginning, the middle, or the end of that Session? If this had been a just Prejudice against such Evidence given by my Lord of *Anglesey* himself, it is certainly much more so against a Paper pretended to be written and signed by him, which is guilty of the same defects. And I think no reason can be given that a Paper *Memorandum*, with the name of my Lord of *Anglesey* to it, is a more valid and authentick Evidence, than my Lord of *Anglesey* himself would have been.

2. As this *Memorandum* gives us no determinate time when these Words were spoken, so likewise has it no Date when the *Memorandum* it self was written. And this is a fine Evidence indeed to determine Controversies, and *undeceive others*; which for the matter pretended to be proved has a very loose date, and for it self hath no date at all, and both begins and ends like a fabulous Story with *once upon a time*. The truth is, this *Memorandum* is penn'd as if there was fear of having it disprov'd; had the day been named when the King and the Duke of York had said this, perhaps by some unlucky Circumstance or other it might have appeared, that one or both of them together (which was very rare) were not at the House that day. Had the *Memorandum* been punctually dated, something might have happened to have prov'd that my Lord of *Anglesey* was at that time Travelling, or in the Country from his Study, or otherwise unlikely to have made such a *Memorandum* at that time. And therefore it was far better to let Dates alone as dangerous things, and apt to tell Tales.

And to this may be added;

II. That this *Memorandum* is unattested by any Witness, and (as the Case stands) it is impossible it should be, except there were one or more Persons who saw my Lord of *Anglesey* write or sign it. Now I need not urge the necessity of *Witness* to prove the signing of a *Memorandum* that pretends to correct the World, and to undeceive others, and that, upon the single Credit and Authority of that *Memorandum*; every Man knows that an unattested Paper is no Evidence, and that a Man's *Hand* when he is dead, except it be well prov'd, signifies nothing at all, nor can have any effect: And the World must be very willing to be *undecieved* indeed, if they will alter their Judgments and Opinions upon that which neither is, nor ever was admitted to be any Evidence, nor sufficient to determine the least matter of Controversy. And therefore upon the whole, if my Lord of *Anglesey* had made this *Memorandum* for his own private use, it might have done well enough, because the defects of it might have been supply'd by his own Memory; but when it was design'd for the use of Posterity, to *undeceive others* when he was dead, to leave it so defective in all the necessary parts of Proof, is irrational and unaccountable, and consequently is not to be ascrib'd to a person of his Lordship's Character and Judgment, and great Knowledge in the Laws: For my Lord (had he wrote this) could not but know that this matter would be disput'd, and the *Memorandum* plainly implies it, and that nothing less than plain and unexceptionable Proof would convince the World; and at the same time to leave behind him a suspicious and invidious *Memorandum*, which may create some Disputes but can end none, is unworthy of his

Lordship, and ought not without manifest Proof to be father'd upon him, nor indeed can be without some reflection upon his Lordship's Memory.

And therefore :

III. This was the most improbable and unlikely course that could be taken, to answer those Ends mentioned in the *Memorandum*, (viz) to *undeceive* others : For (besides what hath been said before) what a pure method is this to correct publick Mistakes, and to undeceive the World, to lodge a *Memorandum* in a vacant page of a Book, never to be seen till after his death ; and then also liable to a thousand Contingencies, to be torn, to fall into private hands, to lie neglected and never see the light : For I suppose his Lordship could never divine that his Study of Books would be sold by Auction, and that Mr. *Millington* would make the Sale. So that for any thing his Lordship either did or could know, the World might never have been *undeceiv'd* ; and it is an extraordinary Caution indeed to take pains to *undeceive* others, and at the same time leave them in a hopeful way never to be the better for it ; had there been no other way, such a one as this must have shifted as well as it could, but when Men have Tongues in their Mouths, and may clear up mistakes by living and undoubted Testimony, to commit it to a bit of Paper, and that also laid up in darkness and obscurity, seems far from that Zeal to Truth which this *Memorandum* pretends to, and for which end it pretends to have been written : Had my Lord of *Anglesey* (think we) no Friends, Acquaintance or Children to have communicated this to ? And where, I wonder, is the Man who ever heard my Lord say this, or any thing like it ? There can, as I know of, but one thing be said to this, and that is, that there might be some danger in so doing ; and that this, tho' it was not the securest, yet it was the safest way. But this, is obviated by the *Memorandum* it self, which plainly intimates that the two Kings made no Secret of it themselves, nor injoin'd him any Secrecy, but frankly and freely assur'd him, which (as it is worded in the *Memorandum*) seems to express a design to have it spread and propagated ; and therefore if the *Memorandum* be true, there could be no Reservedness and Caution upon that account, or fear of any Displeasure from the King or his Royal Brother. Now indeed it must be owned, that to rectify Mistakes and to set the World right, is a generous and charitable Undertaking ; but at the same time to neglect the direct and unexceptionable means to do this without reason and necessity, and to perform it in the dark, and expose it to manifest hazard and uncertainty, and after all to leave it without *Date* or *Witness*, so as in no degree to amount to a competent Evidence, in plain terms is to *deceive* others instead of *undeceiving* them :

And

And in truth the *Memorandum* is a Contradiction to it self, the End of it is express'd to be to *undeceive others*, and yet the *Memorandum* it self is the most unlikely course that could be taken to accomplish that End; and especially when there were several other far better at hand. Upon all which Accounts I do conclude, that this *Memorandum* was not made by my Lord of *Anglesey*, but by some other hand, to deceive and impose upon the World. And certain I am that whosoever insits upon this *Memorandum*, is bound to do these two things; 1. To prove that this was my Lord of *Anglesey's* Hand-writing. And, 2. To give a satisfactory Reason why my Lord of *Anglesey* forbore to declare this by Word of Mouth, which the *Memorandum* intimates was so openly and freely, and without any Reserve declared to him, and when it was by a thousand degrees more fit to answer the Ends express'd in the *Memorandum*. And this hath not yet been attempted, and I presume can never fairly be done.

And to this I add,

IV. The *Memorandum* asserts, That my Lord *Anglesey* shew'd to the King and the Duke the *written Copy* of this Book; upon the view of which *written Copy* they both assur'd him. Now is it not wonderfully surprizing that his Lordship should not insert this *Memorandum* in that very Manuscript which he shew'd to them, but go and search his Study to look out for another Book to place it in. This the nature of the thing, this all reason prompted him to. The *Memorandum* intimates he was very full of it, and uneasy till he had made some attestation of it, and at the same time he had the very Book it self in his Hand or in his Pocket; and let any Man who hath but a moderate proportion of Understanding, Care and Diligence, consider, whether it be by any means probable, or hardly possible, that his Lordship should take pains to find out and to introduce another Book, and lay aside that already in his Hands, and by many degrees more fit and proper to insert it in. The *Memorandum* it self would have been far more cogent, as *this individual Book I shew'd the King*; the King and the Duke's Speech had immediate and direct relation to that Manuscript, and to the other only consequentially. That *written Copy* had some remarkable Distinctions from the other, as being a Manuscript, and as being *Corrected by the King's own Hand*; and lastly, that was ready at hand, and just before him when the thing was done, and made the first and strongest impressions upon him. And let any Man reflect upon the common methods of human Conduct, will he himself write his own or any other man's Testimony concerning a Book, in any other Book, if he have at the same time that individual Book by him, upon the view of which that Testimony was given? No Man acts at that loose rate, to be sure no Man that is nice, curious and exact, as my Lord was to the

highest degree; and if the *Memorandum* had been genuine, to be sure it would have been writ in the Manuscript it self, and not have been sent a Wooll gathering, and patcht in a Book that it did not directly belong to.

In the mean time, it deserves inquiry, whether my Lord *Anglesey* had such a Manuscript of the *Icon*: If he had not, the *Memorandum* is at an end: If he had, the *Memorandum* tells us, there were in it *Corrections under King Charles the First's own Hand*; then the Question is, Was the printed Book according to those Corrections, or not? If according to the Corrections, then Dr *Gauten's* Title is at an end; for all the *Narratives and Accounts* of that side say, that it was printed by a Copy the King never saw. If not according to those Corrections, then that Manuscript shew'd to the King in the House, could not properly be said to be a Copy of that printed Book in which the *Memorandum* was wrote, because those Corrections ought to have been excepted; and no doubt my Lord of *Anglesey* would have excepted them, and not only so, but have mention'd them too, he was too curious not to compare the Manuscript with the Print; and had this *Memorandum* been genuine, and truly written for the end it is pretended, he would have particularly express'd the difference, and shew'd wherein the Corrections in the Manuscript vary from the Print, and have put the Controversy soon out of doubt; as little trouble as the writing the *Memorandum*, and half the Zeal the *Memorandum* pretends to, would have prompted him to collate and specify the places. 'Tis unaccountable that his Lordship should pretermitt the Book it self, and write his Caution and Discovery in another; but 'tis more unaccountable that when he had done so, he should wholly pretermitt the Corrections: Had the *Memorandum* been wrote in the Manuscript it self, there would have been no need of it, because whoever had seen the *Memorandum*, would at the same time have seen the *Corrections* too; but when that was transfer'd to a printed Book, the Corrections, at least some of them, ought not to have been omitted, which would have tended to undeceive others, more than twenty such blind *Memorandums* without them. But I believe there never was such a Manuscript, and consequently no such *Memorandum*, but they are both forged at the same Anvil. My Reasons for it are these;

1. *Millington* often pretended that he had it, and affirm'd the same to my self, and promis'd to shew it to me; upon which, in the Winter 1699, I went to his House in *Little-Britain*: He then told me it was in his Ware-house at *Bartholomew-Close*, but he could not go thither at that time, nor would set a time when I should meet him there. But after several times going thither, at length I met him at his Ware-house, and then asked him for the sight of that

that Manuscript : He shifted me off at that time, upon pretence of business. Some time after I found him there again, and to prevent any Shifts or Tergiversations, before I spoke a word of the *Manuscript of the Icon* I ask'd him to shew me some other Manuscripts I was inform'd he had, and which he did. and among others a very valuable Manuscript of a *Greek Testament* which formerly belong'd to Bishop *Walton*, who publish'd the *Polyglott Bible* : These I cheapen'd, and we came pretty near to an agreement : and then I ask'd him to see my Lord *Anglesey's* Manuscript : He startled at the Question, but told me he could produce it and other Manuscripts too, but at that time he desir'd to be excus'd : I told him if he would shew it me, I would buy his Manuscripts at his own price, and if he would set me a time, I would call on him ; That he said he could not do, for he was to go to *Cambridge* (as I remember) to sell a Library of Books, but when he came back he would give me satisfaction. About six weeks after, and after his return from his Journey, I found him again at his Ware-house, and then I renew'd my discourse about his own Books, and my request to see my Lord's Manuscript : I staid with him above an hour, and prest him as far as I was able ; and at last all that I could get from him, was That he could produce a Letter of King *Charles* the First to his Queen in his own hand, which intimated that after he had agreed with *Cromwell*, yet when he was restored he purpos'd to take revenge on him for his Rebellion. This Letter, says *Millington*, was intercepted, and was the reason why *Cromwell* chang'd his mind, and brought him to the Block. Now, tho' this did not concern my present Question, yet I had a great desire to see it, because I did not believe one word of it ; but with all my Intreaties and all the good Words I could give him, I could never see that Letter no more than the Manuscript, and I believe they are both alike true.

2. My next Reason is, That some time after the publication of the *Defence*, I had information that my Lord *Albham*, my Lord *Anglesey's* Son, and then Dean of *Exeter* and Prebendary of *Wesminster*, had said something concerning the *Memorandum* ; upon which I wrote two Letters, and have two Answers from his Lordship yet by me. In the first, my Lord *Albham* says, *That he sent to Millington and desired a sight of the Memorandum, which Millington refused to send, but promised to bring it himself either that or the next day, but he never came, so that he can say nothing as to the hand-writing ; but if he may be allowed to judge of the Memorandum by the confused manner in which it is express'd, clogg'd with Parentheses, he should not think it was penn'd by my Lord Anglesey, who was always observ'd to have a great Hastine's in expressing himself easily and plainly, and looks upon it to be no more his Father's Memorandum than Pamela's Prayer was the King's, but both*

both alike forg'd; because neither himself, nor any of his Family that he knows of, ever heard his Father question the King's being the Author, or say any thing contain'd in the Memorandum. And as to the Manuscript the Memorandum refers to, he says, That he had oftentimes the Keys of his Father's Library, and Liberty to peruse what Books he pleas'd; but he never saw such a Manuscript, nor doth he know that my Lord Anglesey ever had such a Manuscript. In the next Letter, the information from my Lord Altham is in these Words, That he had been turning over his Father's Papers, amongst which he found a Parliament Diary written by himself, and relating particularly to himself, and of that year the Memorandum refers to; in which there are many things of far less consequence, and particularly some things the King said to him in that House, but not one syllable of what is express'd in the Memorandum. The Lord Altham had oftentimes and *viva voce* declar'd all the same matters (except what relates to the *Parliament Diary*) to several Persons, and in particular to Dr. Lake, late Archdeacon of Exeter, and to Mr. Young, a worthy Gentleman of Plymouth, and several others, as Mr. Young himself attests, in his Book intituled *Several Evidences*, &c. p. 22. And now let us put all these together. That my Lord Anglesey should insert this *Memorandum* in a vacant Page of a printed Book, and not in the Manuscript it self, which he had then in his hands; that he should not take notice in particular of so much as one of the King's *Corrections*; that he should never mention the least title of this to his own Children, or to any of his Family; that my Lord Altham, who was a learned Man and had recourse to his Father's Library as often as he pleas'd, never saw any such *Memorandum*, nor never saw nor heard of such a Manuscript; that, finally, in a *Parliament Diary* of the same Year, and written by his Lordship's own hand, where are things far less considerable, and particularly Speeches of the King to his Lordship, and yet not the least syllable of this; let any Man, never so partial, try the utmost of his Skill, and see if he can reconcile this to the *Memorandum*. Is it possible for a Man to have such a strong Zeal to *undeceive others*, as the *Memorandum* implies, and yet himself in his own person never take the least care to *undeceive* his own Children or any of his Family, or any one single person in the whole World? Can any Man believe that he, who thought this matter of so great Importance as to be worthy of so particular and remarkable a *Memorandum*, should notwithstanding in his *Diary* of that Parliament, where he preserved all manner of Occurrences (great or small) relating to himself, should totally omit this, make no *Memorandum* at all of it, but turn it over to a neglected and vacant Page of a printed Book? This is very harsh and violent, and shocks a Man's Understanding, and tends so little to undeceive others, that it was hardly sufficient to preserve

preserve it to himself, to be sure not by many degrees so fit and proper as the *Diary* of the same Parliament.

I must yet farther observe, that the Authors on that side reckon it as a remarkable piece of Providence, *the casual finding of this Memorandum.* Dr. Walker says *Millington casually opening the Book upon the Sale*, (p. 31.) Mr. Toland says, *putting up an Icon, and a few bidding very low for it, he had leisure to turn over the Leaves, when to his great surprize he perceiv'd the Memorandum*, (*Amynor* p. 86.) Now all this is downright falshood, and is nothing else but making a Providence of their own Craft, and intitling God to their own Deceits; for long before the Auction of the Lord *Anglesey's* Library, *Millington* carried the Book about with him in his pocket, and shew'd it to several Persons, and in particular to the Reverend Mr. *Cooke* of *Iffington*, whom *Millington* met in *Bartholomew-Classe*, and took the said Book out of his pocket, and shew'd him the Book and the *Memorandum*, before the Book was expos'd to sale, and which I have by me attested under the said Mr. *Cook's* hand. So that this is a fine piece of chance, and a wonderful sort of surprize, when he had carried the Book in his pocket for two or three months together. But any man may see that this was artificially put in, that they might, according to their wont, intitle God to their Cause, and to make it merely providential, and to represent it as a thing purely casual, and consequently there could be no Art or Design in it. But so soon as the Falseness of this is discover'd, it turns home upon them, and becomes an irrefragable Objection; the more pains they have taken to represent it intirely fortuitous and accidental, the more it savours of contrivance and foresight, and smells more strongly of the Forgery; for what need is there of shifts and disguises in telling the truth. And there can be no greater argument of their own consciousness of guilt, than when they find themselves necessitated to tell a falshood to fortify their Account, and make it more plausible; and in truth the Cause it self did but need it, it wanted some blind, and the Advocates on that side tried their skill to cast a Mist before our Eyes, by representing it as the most casual, surprizing, and unthought-of thing in the World. For, certainly, that Mr. *Millington* should take this particular Book from the whole Library; that he should take it into his own private keeping, distinct and apart from the rest; that he should carry it about in his pocket, and all these for a very considerable time, these are very jealous and suspicious Circumstances, and will induce most Men to believe, all Men to fear, that some pranks were play'd upon it. And that which confirms this, is, that when he had sold that Book, on the Leaf of which the *Memorandum* was wrote, he tore out that Leaf, put it up into his pocket, and kept it
ever

ever after, that no body could see it without his license and presence; and I never could hear that he trusted it with any Man, no not for a minute, and you heard before he would not shew it to my Lord *Anglesey's* Son. And what is the meaning of all this Art, Caution and Shyness? To what end should a contingency and surprize be pretended to what was done with the utmost deliberation? To what purpose was this Book sever'd from the rest, and kept only in his own private custody? Upon what account was the Leaf it self torn out, and reserved still only in his own hands and in his own power? Let all these be put together, and let any man but look into his own Faculties, and see whether this be the face of Truth or of Fraud: Whether such kind of dark and clandestine methods, be like the open and plain ways of Justice and Honesty, or the crooked and serpentine paths of Deceit and Imposture.

'Tis likely there will be an Objection to this, How came it to pass, seeing these things are so material, that I never mention'd them before, neither in the first nor second Book. And to that I shall give this true Answer; That as to the inserting the *Memorandum* in the Manuscript it self, and likewise as to several other things added, I never reflected on before, till I came to review all the Controversy over again, upon a prospect of this third Edition; and I am not ashamed to own that my Understanding is not so subtle and quick, but that upon a second third or fourth view, many things may appear to me which, through the imperfection of my Understanding, I never thought of before, and to which I must refer all the new Observations I have made in Dr. *Wilkes's* Evidence, and some other things the Reader will find in his Edition. As to the testimony of my Lord *Albany*, and Mr. *Millington's* carrying the Book about in his pocket, I had no information of either of them till some time after the last Book (*the Defence*) was published; and as to the Observations concerning the Manuscript, I had the whole thought of it from a worthy Gentleman yet living, Mr. *Young of Plymouth*, who first gave me notice of it, and put me upon the inquiry. But this was after the *Defence* was publish'd, whose Letter I have yet by me, dated July 18, 1699. the Words of which are these: *If my Lord Anglesey had such an interpolated Manuscript as the Memorandum mentions, where is it? A sight of it would knock the Controversy on the head; for if the Interpolations be in the print, Gauden could not by his own confession be the Author, because he says he was forc'd to print it by a Copy his Majesty never saw: Now 'tis not to be doubt'd but those Interpolations are in the Book, because so curious a Man as my Lord would otherwise have remark'd that: For my part I think it were worth while to find this Manuscript; if we lose the Cause, (which cannot be) we find the Truth, which all honest Men pretend to seek.* And this I have

I have mention'd upon two Accounts. *First*, to answer the Objection, and *Secondly* to do justice to Mr. Young, from whom I had that whole Thought, and some of the Reasonings upon it.

V. That there is no Appearance, nor so much as Presumption, that the two Royal Brothers ever said this to any other Person. This I confess is a *Negative*, but I shall leave it with all the World, whether if this was their constant and standing Judgment it is by any means probable, that they would not one time or other have declared the same to some other Persons, when they had done it with such openness and unreservedness to my Lord of Anglesey, and consequently that we should have heard of it from some other quarter, and in some better manner, than any such a blind *Memoir*.

And for a yet more full Confirmation I shall add.

VI. That there is now in my hands a very considerable Testimony, proving not only that King Charles the Second believ'd that his Father was the Author of this Book, but that he had one of them wrote with the King's own hand, together with some Letters from him concerning it. It is a Letter from Dr. Canaries, which for the Reader's Satisfaction I shall insert at large, and leave it with him as accumulative Evidence.

S I R,

The Account which I promised you concerning King Charles the First's Book is this. *In the year 1650 the Scots sent Commissioners to King Charles the 2d. then at Breda, in order to adjust all matters with him about the Covenant, before they would admit him to the exercise of his Royal Government: And that both the Kirk and the State might look to their respective Interests, each of them sent their own Commissioners. Mr. James Wood, one of the Ministers of St. Andrews, and Provost (or Principal) of the old College in that University, and one of the most learned and considerable Persons amongst all the Presbyterian Ministers then in that Kingdom, was one of the Commissioners sent by the Kirk. He being one day in the King's Bedchamber when he was at Breda, The King began a discourse about his Father's Book, several Persons of Quality being present, and after a little he turn'd to Mr. Wood, and said to him, Mr. Wood. I hear that some are pleas'd to say that my Father was not the Author of that Book; but it is no great wonder that those, who have been so injurious to him upon all other respects, should not spare his Memory in an affair of this nature; however I will let you see how great a Calumny this is. Whereupon the King took Mr. Wood into his Closet with him, and there he shew'd him the whole Book written all in his Father's hand, together with a Letter from his Father concerning it to him: then the King said, Now Mr. Wood, that you may not entertain any scruple about the hand, here are several of my Father's Letters to me, all written in his own hand. take any*

of them, and compare the hands together. So *Mr. Wood* compar'd the hands, and then said to the King, that he was fully convinc'd, that the Book and the Letter about it, were all written in his Father's hand; upon which the King said to him, Now *Mr. Wood* I appeal to you, whether or not my Father would have ever written over a Book that was not his own, and have sent such a Letter to me about it? *Mr. Wood* answer'd that he was highly oblig'd to his Majesty for the Honour he had done him, in having shew'd him such an Authentical proof of his Father's being the Author of that Book: he had indeed heard that some persons did question it, but now he was so perswaded of the truth of it, that he thought himself oblig'd in conscience to do the King his Father justice, by vindicating his Memory in that point, as he should have any occasion for doing it.

After *Mr. Wood* return'd to Scotland, he told my Father the whole passage with all its circumstances so as it is here related; there having been a great Intimacy between my Father and him for many Years before. And wishal he told him that he was as much convinc'd that King Charles the First was the Author of that Book, as he could be that one was the Author of a Book which he had not seen him write. This account I had many times from my Father; and in the Words and Circumstances wherein I have set it down, as near as I can possibly remember. And sure I am that my Father could never have had any design to tell me such a Story, and so frequently, and in his private Conversation with me, if he had not had it as punctually from *Mr. Wood* himself: besides that as my Father was a Minister, so he was known by all that knew him, to be a Man of most entire Integrity and Reputation. And it is no less certain that *Mr. Wood* would never have told such a thing to my Father, if it had not been really true; *Mr. Wood*, tho' a Presbyterian, being a Person of great Candour and Honesty, besides that it is not possible to imagine what design he could have had to have invented such a Story, and to have impos'd it upon my Father under the terms of the greatest Intimacy with him. For my part, I do as verily believe the truth of it, as I can believe the truth of a thing that I did not see with my own Eyes, having it so immediately conveyed to me, and conveyed too by such Persons, and in such a manner. And as what concerns my share in this Testimony, namely that I had it so from my Father. I am ready to depose it upon Oath before any Court of Judicature in the World, whensoever I should be called to do it. And Sir, I allow you to make any use of this you shall think convenient.

I am Sir,

Your most humble Servant

James Canaries.

Abington in Berks,
July 17th, 1693.

It is ist here to give Account of the Character of Dr. *Canaries*, and which I borrow from worthy Mr. *Young*, in his Book entitled, *Several Evidences which have not yet appear'd*, &c. and he there says, (p. 49.) *That Dr. Canaries was a Man of great Learning and Judgment; and when after the late Revolution, the Scots expelled Episcopacy, he had great Offers made him by the Kirk to continue among them, but he chose rather to be a Refugee in this Nation.* This is a very honourable Character, and will give great weight to his Testimony; and it is contrary to all the Rules of Justice and Charity to presume, that a Man who hath left his own Nation and his worldly Subsistence, purely upon the score of a good Conscience, would freely declare, and set his hand, and offer to confirm by Oath, any thing of the truth of which he was not fully and undoubtedly assured. And the same Mr. *Young* tells us, that a Brother of the said Dr. *Canaries*, Mr. *W. Canaries* Vicar of *Kingstainston* in *Devon*, hath given it under his hand, dated Octob. 11. 99. *That his Brother's Testimony is true in all its Circumstances; adding some to show the Temper and Ingenuity of Mr. Wood, who saw the Original of the King's Book, and a Letter from him to his Son and Successor concerning it.* This is a strong Confirmation of Dr. *Canaries's* Testimony; and I have now by me a Letter from *Aberdeen*, bearing date, Nov. 15. 1710. from Mr. *Rolland* of *Disblair*, to Dr. *George Garden*, confirming the same thing; where among other things, he says that Mr. *Robert Bayley*, and Mr. *James Wood*, were two of the Commissioners of the Kirk to King *Charles* the Second; that at a private Conference with Sir *Robert Long* the King's Secretary, among several Discourses there were some about the King's Book, that Mr. *Wood* himself doubted whether the King was the Author, which being told to the King, at the next Conference, the King himself shew'd Mr. *Wood* the Book written with the Kings own hand, which was then lying in the Window at his Majesty's Back, and taken up in his Majesty's hand. The writer of this Letter had not his Relation from Mr. *Wood*, nor from any Persons who had it from Mr. *Wood*, but from other Persons of Honour, and probably from Sir *Robert Long* himself, at that time Secretary to King *Charles* the Second; and who lodg'd at Dr. *Guild's* House, where Mr. *Rolland* staid when King *Charles* the Second was at *Aberdeen* when he came from the *Hague*. So that this Relation of Dr. *Canaries* is yet the stronger; and it much corroborates a Testimony, and gives greater Evidence of the Truth, when the same thing is confirm'd by several Persons and diverse Relations.

I have yet two other Evidences of mighty Importance in this present Controversy, the one is of King *Charles* the Second, the other of King *James* the Second.

1st That of King *Charles* the Second is an Original Letter in French under his own Hand to Monsieur *Teslard*, a Protestant Minister of

Blois; and who was at that time translating the King's Book into French. The Letter is dated from *Beauvois*, *March* 15. 1650. and it appears by my Lord Clarendon's History, Vol. 3. Book 13. Pag. 300. in *Fol.* that at that time the King and his Mother met at *Beauvois*. The Original is now in the hands of Mr. *Tesard's* Grandson, who at this time lives in *Scotch-Yard* in *Bush-Lane*, *London*, where I presume any Man that desires it may peruse it. I shall subjoin a true Copy of it, and then give the Translation by Mr. *Quick*, who wrote the Life of Mr. *Tesard* which is yet in Manuscript, together with his Preface to it, which tends to the farther Confirmation of it.

The Supercription is, *A Monsieur Tesard, Pasteur de l'Eglise Reformée à Blois.*

Monsieur Tesard,

Ayant esté averti de l'intention, que vous avez de traduire en Francois le livre incomparable, composé par le feu Roy notre pere de Glorieuse Memoire; à fin de l'epurer de toutes les taches, et macules, que la malice ou l'ignorance de quelques uns, y ont apporté en les traductions precedentes, et que vous avez déjà tres bien réussi en la plus grande partie de cet ouvrage: nous l'avons crû convenable à la Pieté, qui est due à sa Memoire de vous en demander la continuation, et l'accomplissement de ce qui est déjà si bien avancé, et dont la posterité, aussi bien que ce siecle present, vous aura d'obligation. Pour nostre particulier nous avons grandement à Cœur le respect que vous devez à la personne, et gloire de ce Royal, et bienheureux Martyr en le dessein que vous avez d'employer vos travaux pour effacer les mechantes Calomnies, dont un insolent nomme MARSYS a taché de ternir la pureté de sa Religion, laquelle par toute sa vie, et particulièrement à l'article de sa mort, il a tesmoigné estre totalement conforme aux prescriptions, et établissement de l'Eglise Anglicane, par luy tant à nous recommandée dans l'œuvre mesme que vous avez en main (ce que par la grace, et assistance Divine nous observerons inviolablement) et à laquelle vous tesmoignez tant d'affection, que nous vous scavons bon gré, comme aussi de l'intention, que vous avez d'ajouter quelque tesmoignage de l'estime et respect, que vous y portez, dont nous avons un contentement tres particulier, et vous asseurons que sur toutes les occasions vous en sentirez les effects. Ainsi Monsieur Tesard Nous prion Dieu de vous avoir en sa sainte garde,

Donne à *Beauvois* ce 15 de *Mars*, 1650.

Vostre bon Amy;

CHARLES R.

Mr.

Mr. Quick's Life of Monsieur Testard, Manuscript, 252.

Monsieur Testard had such an Affection for the *English* Writers, that he attempted to translate some of them into *French*, and to publish them ; as in particular he did Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ the *Portraiture* of King Charles I. in his Solitudes ; and upon this account it was, that King Charles the Second being in *France*, writ him a most obliging Letter. I have seen the very Original sign'd with his own hand, which was communicated to me by Monsieur Testard's Son. Possibly my Reader may be as curious and desirous to see it as my self. I shall therefore give him a faithful Transcript of it into our Language, without Addition or Diminution, having most accurately examined and collated my Copy with the Archetype.

Monsieur Testard;

We being informed of your Intention to translate into *French* that incomparable Book composed by the late King our Father of glorious Memory, and to purge it from those Defects and Blemishes, with which the Malice and Ignorance of former Translators had soild it ; and that you have most fortunately succeeded already in the greatest part of this Work. We therefore have judged according to that Piety which is due unto his Memory, to desire that you would continue and finish it ; for which, not only this present Age, but even Posterity will be very much obliged to you. And as for our Self, we have taken very kindly and affectionately that Honour you testify to the Person, and Glory of this blessed and royal Martyr, by your Designs and Endeavours to wipe of all those impious Calumnies with which a certain insolent Fellow called Marfys, hath attempted to tarnish the Purity of his Religion, which throughout the whole course of his Life, and especially when he was at the point of Death, he did solemnly declare to be totally conformable to the Rites and Orders establish'd in the Church of England ; and which was so earnestly by him recommended to us in that very Work now in your hands, which by the Grace and Assistance of God we shall observe inviolably ; and for that great Affection to him express'd unto it by you, we give you our hearty Thanks, as also for your Intention of adding some Token of your Esteem and Respect to it, which will be a very great Satisfaction to us ; and we do assure you, that upon all Occasions you shall receive the Fruits and Effects thereof. So we recommend you, Monsieur Testard to God's holy keeping.

Given at Beauvais, March 15, 1650.

Your good Friend,

CHARLES R.

All

All that I need to do here, is (1.) To give the Reader an Account of *Murphy*, who is mention'd in this Letter; he had translated the King's Book into *French*, and he gives a very just and honourable Character both of the Book it self, and of the Author who compos'd it. But then his Fault was, that in his Advertisements, and in the Translation it self, he turns every thing with all the Art he could, and perverts the King's Sense and Meaning, in Favour of the *Roman Catholics*, and insinuates as much as he could, that when the King stigmatizes the Papists, he meant only the Bigots to the Pope, but not the Roman Catholics; and for these and the like Insinuations, it was that King *Charles* the Second was so justly offended with him, and branded him as an insolent Fellow, and the Author of impious Calumnies. (2.) From hence we have a very clear Account of the Constancy and Steadfastness of King *Charles* the Second in the *Protestant Religion* all that time. He falls into emotion and great sharpness of Expression, that any Man should attempt to tarnish the Purity of his Father's Religion; which he affirms, that both in his Life, and especially at his Death, he declared his firm adherence to. That that very *Protestant Religion* was by the King his Father earnestly recommended to him in that Work, and that by the Grace of God he would observe inviolably. Now all this was in a private Letter, and to a private Person, and could not be expected that it should ever be made publick; it therefore could not be wrote upon Politick Considerations, to allure his own Subjects, or any other Protestant Party to assist him in the Recovery of his Throne, but must be the true Sense of his Mind, and the real Dictates of his Conscience. This indeed is foreign to the present Matter, but so plainly resulting out of the Letter it self, I could not omit it, to obviate some Objections who make King *Charles* the Second a Papist during his abode in *France*, and long before his Restoration; and if it signified any thing to the present Controversy, I can make it appear, that he was not only steadfast Himself, but used all his Endeavours to keep his Brothers so, and that there were very great Quarrels between him and his Mother, for the Attempts she made upon the Duke of *Glocester* to pervert him; and that by the King's own direction he was taken out of her hands, and the King was forced to subsist him, who was maintain'd by the Queen-Mother before; and many such undeniable Proofs. But this does not belong to this Cause, and therefore I proceed.

2. To the second Evidence, and that is of King *James* II. who in his Letters to the Lords and others of his Privy Council, to be communicated to the rest of the Nobility, the Lord Mayor of *London*, &c. and dated at *St. Germain's en Laye*, Jan. 14. 1688-9, giving

giving the Reasons of his Withdrawing, among others hath these Words; *Together with a serious Reflection on a Saying of our Royal Father of Blessed Memory, when he was in like Circumstances, That there is little distance between the Prisons, and the Graves of Princes; which afterwards proved too true in his Case, could not but persuade us to make use of that which the Law of Nature gives to the meanest, of freeing our selves from Confinement and Restraint.* Now these Expressions are in the twenty-eighth and last Chapter of th's Book, and in the first Paragraph of that Chapter. Now this is a convincing Evidence, and utterly overthrows the *Memorandum*, and all that is built upon it; for it plainly proves, that King *James* believ'd that his Father was the Author of it; for he mentions the Expressions of it, as a *Saying of his Royal Father's*, that he was well acquainted with it, so as to quote a Passage out of it, and suit it to his own Circumstances. That he never could say any such thing to the Lord of *Anglesey* in 1675, as the *Memorandum* pretends; seeing 14 Years after in 1638-9, he affirms the direct contrary under his own Hand. That if ever he had divulg'd any such thing, *that his Father was not the Author*, but *Dr. Gauden*; it had been extremely ridiculous, and very inadvertent, to mention it as *his Father's*, and to make use of it as a Reason to induce him to withdraw, in a Letter to the *Privy Council*, all the *Nobility*, and the *Lord Mayor*, &c. Because if ever he said it, he could not tell but that Saying of his might have been spread over the Nation; or at least, that some, if not all of the *Privy Council* and *Nobility*, might have heard of it, and have been well acquainted with it. And it would appear very strange, and uncouth, and be rather a Reflection upon him, than an Argument to convince them that he acted upon good Motives, that he should urge the Words of his Father, to justify the Unreasonableness of his Conduct to these Men; who knew that he himself had declared, that they were not the Words of his Father, but of another Men. This is so wild a Proceeding, that (if it had been true) instead of doing what he aim'd at, to prove to the Lords and the Nation, the Wisdom and Necessity of his Withdrawing, by virtue of a very sage Saying of his Father's, it must have turn'd to his Disadvantage; and all that is infer'd from it, must sink into nothing; when he himself had heretofore own'd that the Saying was *Dr. Gauden's*, and his Father not concern'd in it. But any Man may see, that the whole Sentence hath a direct contrary tendency, that he seriously reflected on it, and that he reflected on it as his *Royal Father's*; and this with the Consideration of the Relation he had to him, that *he was his Father*, and together with that, that he was a very wise and judicious Prince, and that he was in like Circumstances with himself,

when

when he wrote that Saying. This gave great Weight to the Reflection; and as the Reflection of that work'd on him to withdraw, and to take Methods to secure himself; so also to urge and propose it, as a Reason to satisfy the Nobility, that his Withdrawing was upon good Advice and sedate Reflection. And in truth, the Matter it self, and the Time of his Affliction requir'd great Seriousness, and in that Juncture, in so critical and nice a Time, he could never make use of *fictitious and spurious Authors*, if he knew them to be so, and to lay them *at the Door of his own Father*. His Reasons and Grounds certainly came from his Heart, and what he thought to be true: And to this may be added, that this Letter was his own, *under his own Hand*; for it was immediately after his returning into *France*, when he had no Secretaries, scarcely any Servants to assist him. And this is a convincing Proof that King *James II.* did really believe that his Father was the Author of this Book; and that consequently he never said any such thing to the Lord *Anglesey*; and the consequent upon that is, that the *Memorandum* is all over a Forgery.

I have now done with this *Memorandum*, and do conceive, That I have vindicated the Memory of King *Charles I.* and his Right to this Book from any Exceptions that can be taken from thence: I shall therefore proceed to some farther Evidence to convince the unbiass'd and unprejudiced, that That glorious *Martyr* actually was, and that no other could be the Author of it. Now whereas Evidence is of two Kinds; *external*, which relates to outward Testimony, and *internal*, which is drawn from the thing it self; both these are plain in the Case, and will sufficiently clear up the Point before us.

1. *External Evidence*, *i. e.* the Testimony of other credible Witnesses to the truth of it: But that I may deal fairly, I shall sum up the Evidence on both Sides, and then leave it to the Reader's Judgment; only I must premise, that King *Charles I.* being in Possession, and for so many Years reputed and acknowledged for the Author of this Book, whatsoever is offered to defeat his Title to it, ought to be very plain, clear, and satisfactory, and to overbalance the contrary Evidence in point of Credibility and Sufficiency: For an Equality of Evidence can never do it, because Possession preponderates, and will weigh down on that Side, where all other Circumstances are equal. But if the Evidence on that Side be more in number, and as credible, if farther there be no just Exceptions to the Evidence on that Side, as having no Personal Biass, Partiality or Interest to sway them; and there be just Exceptions to that of the other, there then can be no Dispute which will carry the Cause. And this I take to be the Case here, and
which

which I conceive will plainly appear upon comparing the Evidence, with respect to the Claim of King *Charles* and Bishop *Gauden* to this Book. And to consider,

1. The Evidence that is produc'd for Bishop *Gauden's* being the Author of it, and that in truth is included in a very narrow compass, and it is all finally resolved into one single Evidence, and that Evidence is Bishop *Gauden* himself. And this will appear upon a fair examining the respective Evidence that hath yet appeared on this Side of the Question: And they are these Two,

First, The Attestation of Dr. *Walker*. And,

Secondly, The Evidence of some Papers now in the Hands of Mr. *North*.

1. The Attestation of Dr. *Walker*; and what he says, is this, in short. 1. *That Dr. Gauden some time before the whole was finished, acquainted him with his Design, and showed him the Heads of divers Chapters, and some of the Discourses written of them, and after some time spent in the perusal, he asked his Opinion concerning it; and he (Dr. Walker) told him he supposed it would be for the King's Reputation, but he expressly added, he stuck at the Lawfulness of it, and asked him how he satisfied himself so to impose upon the World. To which he replied; Look on the Title, 'tis the Pourtraiture, &c. and no Man draws his own Picture, &c. That he perfectly remembered, that in the second Chapter of the Death of the Earl of Strafford, these Words, He only hath been least vext by them, who counselled me not to consent against the Vote of my Conscience. Dr. Gauden told him, he meant by them the then Bishop of London, Dr. Juxon.*

2. *That being both in London, in an Afternoon Dr. Gauden asked him to walk with him to a Friend, and in the going, told him he was going to the Bishop of Salisbury, Dr. Dupper, (whom he had acquainted with his design) to fetch what he had left with his Lordship to be perused, or to show him what he had further written. That Dr. Gauden desired him after a general Conversation to withdraw, which he did, and that upon return he told him, that my Lord of Salisbury told him, there were two Subjects more he wish'd he had thought on, and propounded them, the Ordinance against the Common Prayer, and the denying his Majesty the attendance of his Chaplains, and desired him to write two Chapters upon them, which the Bishop recallet, and desired him to finish what remains, and leave those two to him; and that Dr. Gauden did not pretend to have written those, as he did to have done all the rest.*

3. Upon Dr. *Walker's* asking Dr. *Gauden* (after the King was murdered) whether the King had ever seen the Book, Dr. *Gauden* answered, *I know it certainly no more than you, but I used my best endeavours that he might, for I delivered a Copy of it to the Marquess of Hartford when he went to the Treaty at the Isle of Wight, and intreated his Lordship if he*

could obtain any private Opportunity, he would deliver it to his Majesty, and humbly desire to know his Majesty's Pleasure concerning it. But the violence which threatened the King hastning so fast, he ventured to print it, and never knew what was the issue of sending it, for when the thing was done, he judged it not prudent to make farther noise about it: by enquiry.

4. Dr. Walker asking him (and adds in a Parenthesis; For we seldom were in private but somewhat was discours'd of this Book, even to the last time I saw him, after he was Lord Bishop of Worcester elect) Whether King Charles II. knew that he wrote it. He answered, I cannot positively and certainly say he doth, because he was never pleas'd to take express notice of it to me; but I take it for granted he doth, for I am sure the Duke of York doth, for he hath spoken of it to me, and owned it as a reasonable and acceptable service; and he knowing it, I question not but the King also doth.

5. Mrs. Gauden the Doctor's Wife, Mr. Gifford and Dr. Walker believed it as much as they could believe anything, and were as much assured of it as it was possible they could be of any matter of Fact.

6. Dr. Gauden deliver'd to him with his own hand what was last sent up, (after part was print'd, or at least in Mr. Roylton's hand to be print'd) and after he had shew'd it him and seal'd it up, gave him caution to deliver it; which he did on Saturday, Decemb. 23. 48. in the Evening, according to direction, to one Peacock, (Brother to Dr. Gauden's Steward or Bayliff, some time before deceased) who was instructed by what hand to deliver it to Mr. Roylton, and in the same manner, after the Impression was finish'd, he receiv'd six Books by the hand of Peacock as an acknowledgement; and one of them he hath still by him.

This is the Sum of Dr. Walker's Evidence in this matter; out of which I shall at present only observe,

1. That all that is material in this Evidence is resolv'd into the Testimony of Dr. Gauden himself, viz. That Dr. Gauden acquainted him with his design, That Dr. Gauden told him the Discourse of the Bishop of Salisbury, That Dr. Gauden told him he did not certainly know whether King Charles I. or King Charles II. knew that he wrote it, &c. The Validity of which I shall consider when I come to the next Evidence that appears in this matter.

2. That what seems to be otherwise, is of no Validity at all, nor can have any force with a rational and wise Man. And that because,

1. It only seems to be something more, but in truth it is not, it is express'd indeed as if Dr. Walker had given us ocular Testimony, that he had seen the Heads and some of the Discourses; but this is very defective in a necessary and material point, and does not come up to any strict Evidence: For altho' he says that Dr. Gauden shew'd him.

him the Heads of divers Chapters, and some of the Discourses written of them, and some time being spent in the perusal, yet that which should make this a Proof, that they were written by Dr. Gauden, is altogether wanting, and that is, that they were written with Dr. Gauden's own hand. This, which is the only material thing, there is not the least word of, and which, in a matter of this nature, ought not nor reasonably could be omitted. And I think it is plain, either that Dr. Walker could say nothing to this, or that he knew they were not written with Dr. Gauden's own hand; if the latter, the Evidence is corrupt; if the former, insignificant; And if there be any force in this part of the Evidence, it is not because Dr. Walker saw and perused the Heads and Discourses, for that he might do whether Dr. Gauden wrote them or not, but from those former Words, that Dr. Gauden acquainted him with his design. And I take it to be very observable, that of that Evidence which hath yet appeared, there is not the least said that comes up to this point, That the original Manuscript was written by Dr. Gauden's own hand: Which to me is a plain Evidence that it was never written by him: for if such a thing had been, Dr. Walker living (as he says) in Dr. Gauden's House, and being made to privy to it, and (as he says) perusing the Heads and some of the Discourses, and Mrs. Gauden (the Evidence of whose Papers I shall consider presently) must needs have known it; and I shall leave it to any considering Man what value is to be put on such Evidence in such circumstances, which pretends to prove that one Person is the Author of a Book, in opposition to another more generally reputed Author, and at the same time never offers to prove, that that Book was written by himself, or by his immediate dictating and direction. This sure is the direct Proof, and if it could be had, ought to have been produced, and the World must be very easy and credulous, if they will take the main point upon trust, and be put off with general Stories, instead of that in which the Proof does consist. Is it possible for any man to believe that Mrs. Gauden did not know her Husband's hand, or that Dr. Walker did not know it? Or farther, that Dr. Walker, being so early acquainted with the Secret, should not know of the progress made in that Work from time to time, or be able (upon perusal) to discover some Interlinings or Alterations made by Dr. Gauden's own hand: In short, did any man ever see Dr. Gauden write it, or proceed with it, or add to and amend it? These and more we have, as Evidence for King Charles's being the Author: and it is a pleasant business indeed that this plain and direct Evidence must be confronted by Collections and Inferences, and bold Asseverations, without any manner of Proof to the direct matter in Controversy. But this I shall farther consider, when I come to compare the Evidence on both sides.

In the mean time I am to inform the Reader, that about a year and a little more, before the publishing of his printed Book, Dr. Walker gave an account of his Knowledge concerning this Book to the Right Worshipful Dr. Goodall, now President of the College of Physicians, London, which I shall transcribe *verbatim* and at length, and then make my Observations upon it.

Dr. Walker's *Testimony* concerning the *Εἰκὼν Βασιλική*, March 23, 1695.

Bishop Gauden wrote that whole Book, two Chapters only excepted; the one about Liturgies, the other of refusing the King the attendance of his Chaplains; which two Chapters were written by Bishop Duppa, Dr. Walker well remembering that Dr. Gauden told him, that Bishop Duppa upon the perusal of this Book told Bishop Gauden, that the two foremention'd Heads were fit to be wrote upon, and therefore desired him to draw up two Chapters on the same; but after farther consideration he told him, that he would write these two Chapters himself. Dr. Walker farther observ'd, that considering Dr. Gauden's Circumstances, it was very obvious why Dr. Gauden should not think of writing on those Heads, because the Doctor disus'd the Liturgy, and had never been one of the King's Chaplains, and so not so sensible of writing on these two subjects.

The bigger part of the Copy of this Book, was deliver'd by Bishop Gauden to Mr. Simons, as Dr. Walker conjectures.

One Peacock, Bishop Gauden's Steward's Brother, receiv'd part of those Papers from Dr. Walker, particularly the Picture sealed up. These were put up in a Trunk between the Lady Warwick's Points. Peacock deliver'd those Papers to another Person, unknown to Dr. Walker.

One Lieutenant Arwaker seiz'd Mr. Simon's Papers in Carter-Lane on a Sunday, amongst which the Proof-Sheets of this Book were, which were restor'd to Mr. Simons on Munday by order of Coll. Rich, upon the intercession of Dr. Walker; some of the Proof-Sheets, having the Greek Title on the outward Leaf, were scatter'd in Carter-Lane, and gather'd up by Simons's Son or some of the Family as soon as the Troopers were gone.

Bishop Gauden told Dr. Walker that he deliver'd a Copy of this Book to the Marquess of Hartford, when he went to the Treaty at the Isle of Wight, and desired him to deliver it to the King, if he could find an opportunity, and know his Majesty's pleasure, whether he would give leave that it might be published; but whether the King did ever receive these papers sent by the Marquess of Hartford the Bishop could not tell, he having received no account of the same, as he told Dr. Walker a little before his death.

Dr. Walker inquired of the Bishop, how he could satisfy himself in im-
posing this Book on the World; the Bishop replied, consider the Title being the Portraiture, and no man useth to draw his own picture.

Dr. Walker and Mr. Gifford were both privy to these Affairs, living
together.

together in the Bishop's House, though the Doctor is uncertain whether he ever read this Book in Manuscript, or only saw it with its Title of the Chapters, tho' he thinks that Mr. Gifford might copy it out.

Dr. Walker discours'd Major Huntington at Tunbridge about the King's Papers, who told him That he had been under many Examinations about that Affair before several Committees of Parliament, and all that ever he said was, That he had seen several Manuscripts of the King's whilst he attended him, which he conjectured might be these, but never affirm'd them to be so, because he never read one word of them.

This is all and every Word of Dr. Walker's Testimony, and I pray the Reader to remark these two things: First, That when Dr. Walker gave this Testimony, he pretended that this was the whole Knowledge that he had, or that he could remember concerning that Book. And Secondly, That this Testimony was given in the latter end of 1690, a little more than a year before Dr. Walker's Book was publish'd, probably not half a year before it was compos'd; and then I pray him to compare the two Testimonies, and observe the very great difference that there is between them, and that there is not an intire agreement in any one of the Paragraphs, but there are either Alterations, or Additions, or Subtractions, or Contradictions.

I shall select some of them, and represent them with just Observations upon them. As,

I. In the first Testimony, 1690, he says *The bigger part of the Copy of this Book was deliver'd by Bishop Gauden to Mr. Simons, as Dr. Walker conjectures*; but not one word of this in his printed Testimony, which at first sight will look a little surprizing, seeing it rather serv'd to confirm his Testimony, for both in his first and second Evidence he owns, that the *Proof-Sheets* were in the hands of Mr. Simons. But I believe I can unriddle this Mystery: After his first Testimony, Dr. Hollingworth had choak'd him with an Objection, That Mr. Simons shew'd this Book to Dr. Gauden his Neighbour, who borrowed and transcribed it, and then restor'd it to Mr. Simons. Now, to get over this, and to find some answer to it, he expunges this quite out of his Testimony: For 'tis obvious enough, that if Dr. Gauden intrusted this to Mr. Simons, it implied as much Friendship and Familiarity between them, as if Mr. Simons had intrusted it with Dr. Gauden, and therefore great Care was taken to discharge this Conjecture utterly; and Dr. Walker could not tell how to answer his Adversary, if it was admitted, that Dr. Gauden himself had deliver'd the greater part of this Book into the hands of Mr. Simons. This will appear very plain, and next to a demonstration, if the Reader will but peruse what Dr. Walker answers to this Assertion of Dr. Hollingworth's, (p. 14, 15. of Dr. Walker's Account) where he says, 'Tis impossible Dr. Hollingworth's Story can be true, and I pray the Reader to mark his Reasons,

Reasons, that tho' Mr. Simons was once Minister of Rayne; and Dr. Gauden Dean of Bockin, which are neighbouring Towns, yet I question whether the Men were ever Neighbours; That Mr. Simons was gone from Rayne, before Dr. Gauden came to Bockin; That what he avers, (and is as sure of, as he can be of any matter of Fact, which is most notorious) proves the impossibility of the Doctor's Story home and beyond contradiction: That before this Book was thought of, or many of the Subjects happen'd of which it treats, Mr. Simons was sequestred and fled into the King's Quarters — That he (Dr. Walker) came to Dr. Gauden's August 1644, and never knew Mr. Simons all the while he liv'd there, tho' he knew him well when the Book was printing — That something ran in his mind of his being with my Lord Capel in Shropshire. But what need he multiply Words, when he is as certain as he can be of any thing, that he was far from being Dr. Gauden's Neighbour, or any possibility of sending for him. This is the Answer and all the Answer Dr. Walker gives to Dr. Hollingworth in this particular; and to make it home, and to the purpose, he represents Dr. Gauden and Mr. Simons as mere Strangers to one another, and that it was utterly impossible that they should send for each other: And to make it as strong as he can, or the authority of his own averment will reach, he says, *He is as sure of it, as he can be of any matter of Fact, which is most notorious, and he is as sure as he can be of any thing.* And is it not very strange, that this very Doctor should conjecture that part of this Book was deliver'd by Dr. Gauden to Mr. Simons, and the same Doctor be assured as he can be of any thing that it was utterly impossible; for if there was no possibility for Mr. Simons to send for Dr. Gauden, there must be the same impossibility for the Doctor to send for Mr. Simons; and if a Man can conjecture at that rate, upon my word he hath his Conjectures and his Assurances too at very much command. In his first Testimony, he conjectures Dr. Gauden might deliver, &c. But in his second, he conjectures no such thing at all, but is assured it is impossible, and endeavours all he can to prove the contrary. We see here what the force of an Objection will do; it will make a Man forget his own Testimony, and not only so; but to the best of his skill to confute and contradict it: Any Man may see, why this was left out in his second Testimony, that he might have the freer scope to answer his Adversary; and he made use of it to that very purpose. And need any thing be said worse, to render any Evidence suspicious, than that it is turn'd and varied by Ends and Occasions, that it is moulded and qualified according to Objections? 'Tis true, Dr. Walker says he knew Mr. Simons well when the Book was printing, but not before, and not the least syllable that Dr. Gauden ever knew him, or had ever any concern with him; and it had been a Contradiction for him to have asserted it,

it, for he does his utmost to prove the contrary. And let any considerate Man see what he thinks of such an Evidence: Had he only left this out, it had been a just Objection; but when he left it out for plain and visible uses, that he might freely contradict it, and give a fuller Answer to his Adversary, it taints the whole, and makes it contriv'd, to serve Dr. Walker's purposes. Had this conjecture stood, the Cause it self would not have suffer'd, even according to Dr. Walker's Account; but then there interven'd an Objection, and the Doctor's Brains would not serve him to make so clear an Answer, he found it easier to rid this out of the way, and accordingly wholly cashier'd it; it was it seems his own, and he might do what he pleased with it, and we shall see more of this nature presently. In the mean time, it appears by both the Doctor's Testimonies, and by all on that side, as well as by the Testimonies on the King's side, that Mr. Simons corrected the Press, and that the Proof Sheets were in his Custody. And it is but an ordinary Question, by whom was Mr. Simons intrusted? If Dr. Walker say true, not by Dr. Gauden to be sure; for he makes it impossible they should meet together, nay questionable whether they ever so much as knew one another: And I will leave it with any Man, who can see but three inches before him, whether he could believe that Dr. Gauden would entrust a thing of this nature in the Press, and have no Person, no trusty Friend to look after it; and since Dr. Walker pretends he was entrusted to convey some part of it, and was moreover acquainted with the whole Secret, why he should not have been entrusted to correct the Proof Sheets, or at least to have had some oversight over them, and especially seeing he was at that time screen'd with the powerful Assistance of my Lord Warwick's Family, and might by their influence have been secur'd from a thousand Accidents, which many other persons (and especially a sequestred Minister) were in those dangerous and jealous Times expos'd to. And Dr. Walker himself makes his Interest so considerable in that Family, that when the Sheets were seiz'd by the Soldiers, they were retriev'd purely upon his mediation. But this Story of the Soldiers, I take to be all Forgery, and the Doctor's invention; I shall have occasion presently to shew my Reasons for it.

II. In the first Testimony it is said, That *one Peacock, Bishop Gauden's Steward's Brother, received part of these Papers from Dr. Walker, particularly the Picture sealed up.* These were put up in a Trunk, betwixt my Lady Warwick's Points. Peacock deliver'd *those Papers to another Person unknown to Dr. Walker.* I have here to observe two things: First, The Omissions in this, as in the former. In the second and printed Testimony there is not one word of the Picture, or of the putting up the Papers in a Trunk between the Lady Warwick's Points.

These

These are Circumstances very considerable, and no man can believe that Dr. Walker, who had remembered them for forty years together, should utterly forget them in one year afterwards; and in truth the Circumstances are of such weight to give strength to the whole, that they ought not upon any account to be omitted in such a Testimony, and particularly the *Picture*, which was an essential part of the Book. These are all *left out in his printed Book*, and which reflect severely upon his whole Testimony, and makes it look like a piece of Art and Contrivance, and not like a Declaration of Truth, which is always plain, equal, and consistent to it self. I confess, I can give no reason why he should omit the *Picture*, but I doubt not but there was good reason for it, and that he knew or thought he might have been exposed, either Dr. Gauden could not himn, or none of his Acquaintance, or none he could trust: However, for the other part, there are plain and visible Objections enough; as that then this great Secret was not only known to Dr. Walker and Mr. Gifford, but to my Lady Warwick too, or at least to some of her Maids; for it is not to be suppos'd, that either Dr. Gauden or Dr. Walker had any thing to do to put up my Lady Warwick's *Points*, or if they had, how should they get them again when they arriv'd at London, for how could Dr. Walker rout in my Lady's *Trunks*, and amongst her *fine Linen*? Besides, it must be a very small parcel of Papers indeed, when these and the *Picture* could be put up between my Lady's *Points*. Something like this 'tis probable might make him alter his mind, and clear his hands of this part of the Evidence; but then 'tis very certain that his Evidence march'd by the Compass, and according as the Wind stood; if he had a strong Gale in his Teeth, he presently tackt about, and stood to another Point and another Coast: If these *Trunks* and *Points* happen not to be so well for his purpose, he can let them alone and find out some other that shall. And in truth, his printed Account does in a manner contradict this; for there he says, *That Dr. Gauden deliver'd it into his own hands, and gave him strict Caution with what wariness to carry and deliver it.* This does not look like putting up into *Trunks* and amongst *Points*, but into his own Hand, and it was of no such bulk, but might easily be carried in his Pocket; and the strict Caution plainly implies, that he should put it into no other hands but those Dr. Gauden directed.

But besides these Subtractions, there are very considerable Additions in his *second Testimony*, which were not in his *first*; as for instance, *That Dr. Gauden deliver'd to him with his own hand what was last sent up, (after part was printed, or at least in Mr. Royston's hand to be printed) and after he had shew'd it him, and gave him strict Caution with what wariness to carry and deliver it.* And according to

his

his direction there is also added the day, *Dec. 23, 1648.* and the time of the day. *In the Evening he deliver'd it to Peacock, who was instructed by what hands he should transmit it to Mr. Roylton; and in the same method, after the Impression was finished, he received six Books by the hand of Peacock, as an acknowledgement of his little Service; one of which he hath now by him.* Now there is nothing at all of this in his first Testimony, and there is almost a total disparity, agreeing in nothing, but that he deliver'd them to *Peacock*; and even that varies too; for in his first, he calls him *Dr. Gauden's Steward's Brother*; in the second he speaks doubtfully, *Steward or Bayliff some time before deceased.* And now does not any man see the strange growth of this Evidence, how much it is improved in one year, with the addition of a great many very momentous Circumstances? And is this no prejudice to such a Testimony? No man can believe he could forget them, nor can any man believe, that when he was testifying *all his Knowledge* in that Case, he would have omitted them. 'Tis a mighty disadvantage to a Testimony, when the same Person pretending to tell the same Story varies from himself; but 'tis more so, when, besides that, he pieces up his former Testimony with many great and considerable additions. There is one thing deserves a particular Remark; in his *second Testimony* he says, *That Dr. Gauden deliver'd it with his own hand and shew'd it to him.* There were two visible Objections against the first Testimony; as first, *Peacock* receiv'd the Papers from *Dr. Walker*, and that he might do, and yet the Papers not belong to *Dr. Gauden*; and that is answer'd in the next Testimony, by saying *Dr. Gauden deliver'd them to him with his own hand.* The next Objection is, That tho' *Dr. Gauden* should give him Papers sealed up, they might be other Papers beside the *Icon*; and to obviate that, he says, *He shew'd it him* before it was sealed up. Any man may see with half an Eye, that these were put in to answer Objections, and to make the Testimony more current and passable. But that instead of preventing an Objection makes one; for if these things are so very considerable, how came they to be omitted at first? 'Tis but natural to conclude, that he had not then consider'd the Difficulties it was expos'd to; but when revolving them farther in his mind, he found them, and was resolv'd to meet with them, and turn his Testimony to make them of no force: But this is Managery and Postures, not giving a plain Evidence, but managing it to the best advantage. It hath always been esteem'd a great Reflection upon an Evidence, and a Testimony is weaken'd not only by contradicting it self, but by grafting new matter on it, and especially if that matter be of great weight and very considerable; and it is easy to observe, that all and every one of these Additions that *Dr. Walker* hath made to his first Testimony, are of

great moment, and tend apparently to strengthen his Testimony and to make it more home and to the purpose. But then this fortifies the Objection too, for the more home and cogent they are, the less reason still to have intirely neglected them and totally omitted them before, and especially considering the short interval of time between the first and second Testimony; and if any man will give himself the trouble to search after a Reason for this unaccountable Conduct, he must find it in *Dr. Walker's Brain*, and not in his Conscience.

Upon the whole, I will appeal to any candid and impartial Man in the whole World, who will take the pains to consider and compare the Subtractions and Additions that are in this Article, what notion he will have of such an Evidence, who rises and falls according to Occurrences, who puts out and puts in, who takes away some material Circumstances and adds others as material, whether this be the conduct of Sincerity and Plain-dealing, or whether Truth was ever put to such shifts as to change with the Moon, to ebb and flow, to rise and fall with the Tides.

III. In the Article that relates to Lieutenant *Arwaker's* seizing *Mr. Simons's* Papers, there is a very great difference between the *first* and *second Testimony*; and the first thing considerable, is the many Additions which are made in the *second*, and of which there is not the least syllable, nor the least intimation in the *first*. For instance, there is a very formal Story, most of which is repeated as coming from *Mr. Simons's* mouth, and among other things of the *Contest* between *Mr. Simons* and *Mr. Arwaker*; there also it is said that *Arwaker* lodg'd at the Bell in *Carter-Lane*, the same Street with *Mr. Simons*: That *Arwaker* lodg'd him to his Lodgings, and discharg'd a Pistol with a brace of Bullets to mark the door: That *Mr. Simons* got away, and *Arwaker* return'd with six Troopers, and searcht the House for him, and broke up his Closet. There is beside another Story, of *Mr. Simons*'s and *Dr. Walker's* Consultation together, and concluding the best way to take, was to get a Note from *Col. Rich* to get them restor'd: That *Col. Rich* came unexpectedly to dine at *Warwick-House* that day; That *Dr. Walker*, between Prayers and Dinner, desired *Mr. Charles Rich* (afterwards *Earl of Warwick*) to ask a Favour of the *Colonel*, which he did; and when *Dr. Walker* had mention'd the Case, the *Colonel*, upon *Dr. Walker's* fetching Pen, Ink and Paper, wrote a Note to redeliver all; which he did so punctually, that *Mr. Simons* told him he miss'd not one Paper, that being the next day after they were seiz'd. Now there is not the least Title of all this in the *first Testimony*, and let every honest Man consider his own heart and conduct, and see if it be possible for him to tell the same Story, and yet omit in the same Story so many and so very remarkable Circumstances. 'Tis in vain here

here to say, that his first Evidence was only an Abstract ; for that is false, he gave his full Knowledge, and not only so, but more than he knew too, for he gives his own reasoning upon the Case. As in the first Article of the *first Testimony*, Dr. Walker observ'd, *that considering Dr. Gauden's Circumstances, it was very obvious why he should not think of writing on those Heads, because the Doctor disus'd the Liturgy, and had never been one of the King's Chaplains, and so not so sensible of writing on these two Subjects.* From whence 'tis evident enough that Dr. Walker, who was so ready to add his own Reasonings to strengthen his Evidence, would never have omitted so many and so large Circumstances, which arise directly out of the Evidence it self ; that is, I mean, if they had been true, and the not doing it, is one Proof of the Forgery. Besides this total Omission, which is a very great prejudice to it, that prejudice is much strengthen'd by the Variations there are in what he does mention ; I shall but just mention and compare them. In the *first*, he says, only when he speaks of this matter, *the Proof Sheets, and some of the Proof Sheet* ; but in the *second*, it is *the Proof Sheets, if not also so much of the Copy as those Sheets contain'd.* In the *first* 'tis, *Seiz'd Mr. Simons's Papers, amongst which were the Proof Sheets* ; but in the *second*, the Souldiers took away all his Papers, and the printed Proof Sheets which lay loose upon the Table. In the *second* 'tis, *But they seeing them blotted, and thinking them to be but waste Paper, and not understanding the Title, it being Greek, or not having look'd into them, threw them down into the Dirt* ; but in the *first*, not one word of blotted or waste Paper, or not having look'd into them, or throwing them in the Dirt, but only *some of the Proof Sheets having the Greek Title on the outward Leaf were scatter'd in Carter-Lane.* In the *second* he says peremptorily, *And they in the House gather'd them up* ; but in the *first* doubtfully, *They were gather'd up either by Simons's Son or some of the Family.* Now here are as many Variations as can well be imagined in so few Lines ; as to the Papers themselves, they are *Proof Sheets only*, and they are also *the Proof Sheets, if not so much of the Copy* : As to the posture the Papers were found in, they were *Papers amongst which were the Proof Sheets*, and moreover they were the *Proof Sheets lay loose upon the Table* ; As to the reason that the Souldiers did not take them away, *they had the Greek Title on the outward Leaf, and that is all ; And besides that they seeing them blotted, and thinking them to be but waste Paper, and not understanding the Title being Greek, or not having look'd into them* : And then for the gathering them up, *it was either by Simons's Son or by some of the Family, either one or the other, and it was only they of the House.* Now 'tis hard to conceive that there could be more Changes in so few Words : there is not a Sentence, scarcely half a Sentence that agrees together : It is impossible to change this upon

Memory, for it was above forty Years after the Fact that he told his *first Story*, and but a little time after that, that he told his *second*. But there is one thing deserves to be particularly consider'd, he says in the *first*, the *Greek Title on the outward Leaf*, and there can be no doubt that when he testified that, he thought the Greek was only on the Title-Page, and accordingly suited his Story to that; but when afterwards he came to consult the Book it self, and finding the running Title to be Greek on the top of every Page in the whole Book, he then dextrously chang'd his Note, and instead of the *outward Leaf* in particular, he turn'd it into a general, not *understanding the Title, it being Greek*; that is, the Title in general, as well the running Title, as that *in the first Leaf*. And the truth is, the *first* Testimony was liable enough to exception; for how could the Greek in the *outward Leaf* secure any more but that Leaf, or at least that Sheet, but not the other *proof Sheets* where was no such Greek; but this he did not think on when he gave his first Testimony, but considering better of it, he resolv'd to mend the matter, and by so doing hath marr'd his whole Testimony. For if any Man will consider the difference that is between the two Testimonies, and compare them he cannot chuse but perceive an Air of Accommodation, how Dr. Walker suits his Testimony to make it go down the better with his Reader, and render it less liable to exception. But these are not the Methods of Truth, every honest Man tells what he knows of a matter Fact, without fearing Objections, or endeavouring to prevent them. But when a Man licks over his Testimony, and shapes it into the most taking Posture he can think on, these are the Methods and Maxims of Art and Subtlety, and smell strongly of Contrivance; and there cannot easily be a greater Prejudice to any Man's Testimony, than to find him tricking and changing, altering and mending, and dressing it up to the best Advantage.

But after all, this Story, as Dr. Walker tells it, is all Forgery; he had heard that the Soldiers had seiz'd the Sheets at Mr. *Simons's* Lodgings in *Carter-Lane*, and to make good his own Testimony, he hath feign'd all this fine Story, and made himself a great party to it; whereas there is not one word of truth in it as he tells it, except the *Soldiers seizing the Papers*: It is ridiculous as he represents it, that *Armaker* should shoot a brace of Bullets at the Door to mark it, that could be only to give Mr. *Simons* notice to escape, whom he only look'd for, and whom he design'd to lay hold on. Such a sort of Assault must needs alarm Mr. *Symons* and all the Family, and give them Opportunity to provide for themselves; and in the interim, between *Armaker's* going back to the *Bell* and returning with six Soldiers, he had time to hide or secure those Papers, and not have *left them lying on the Table*; and they being of so much concern to

Mr.

Mr. *Simons*, he would certainly have principally taken care to secure those. But in truth, in the true Story, he was so hotly pursued, that he was not able to secure any thing, and much ado he had to save his own Person. This is clear from the Testimony of Mr. *Clifford*, who assisted at the printing of the *Icon*; the whole Testimony I shall give the Reader afterwards, at present what concerns this Case is in these Words. *After the printing of which, a great part was seized in Mr. Simons's Lodgings, and he, tho' in a Shepherd's Habit, was so far discover'd, as that he was pursued into great Carter-Lane by the Rebels, and the bloody Villains fir'd two Pistols at him, which frighted him up Stairs, and out of the Garret: Wintow he made his Escape over the House.* We see this is directly contrary to Dr. *Walker's* Tale, who makes him escaped and gone before the Soldiers came; besides not one word of the returning the Papers. But this is more full in the Testimony of Mr. *Simons's* Wife, who probably was in the House at the same time; she testifies that *some Sheets being printed, were brought to his Lodgings in Carter-Lane, and there were seized by Soldiers, who were sent to plunder him, which somewhat retarded the Publication of them, tho' the Original Papers being then in the Printer's hands escaped their Search.* (The whole Testimony is in the *Defence of the Vindication*, p. 90.) We see here how contradictory this is to Dr. *Walker*, not a Word of the *proof Sheets*, but both by Mr. *Clifford* and Mrs. *Spanne*, it was the *printed Sheets* that were seiz'd; and this is agreeable to the History we have of this Book in many other places, that what was printed off was seized. And then I wonder what becomes of Dr. *Walker's* blotted and waste Paper, and not understanding them by reason of the Greek Title, and throwing them about the Street, and gathering them up, all these are out of doors, and pure Figments; besides here's not a word of the Assistance of Dr. *Walker*, or of any Man else for the returning them; for they were never return'd, but the Seizure retarded the Publication, which had been impossible if the Dr. had said true; for he says they were return'd to Mr. *Simons* the very next day, and he miss'd not one Paper. And the reason that the Book went on notwithstanding such Seizure was, that the original Papers were not seized, but still in the Printer's hand, which contradicts Dr. *Walker* to some purpose; for he makes the Recovery of the Papers the next day to be the reason of their proceeding with, and publishing the Book; and the Conclusion is, that if Mr. *Clifford's* and Mr. *Simons* his Widow's Testimony be true, then there were no *proof Sheets* seized, no *Misunderstanding by reason of the Greek Title*, no *scattering about the Streets*, no *gathering up*, and finally no *returning of them*, and consequently no part of Dr. *Walker's* Story true, but purely Invention from one end to the other. And the whole Story being all his own, 'tis no wonder he should vary and change it so often, for this

is a plain difference between Truth and Falshood; that the one is always consistent to it self, the other seldome or never. However, I must leave every Man to believe as he thinks good; but for my own part, I prefer the Testimonies of Mr. *Clarendon* and Mr. *Simons's* Widow before that of a thousand Dr. *Walker's*.

IV. In the Article concerning the delivery of a Copy of this Book to the *Marquess of Hartford*, and Dr. *Gauden's* not knowing whether the King ever received it. Besides the Variation of some Expressions, and the Addition of others, there is this remarkable difference; in the *second* it is that Dr. *Gauden* told him *so some time after the King was murder'd*; but in the *first*; that Dr. *Gauden* told him the time *a little before his Death*. Now 'tis certain, that by *some time after the King was murder'd*, Dr. *Walker* must mean a considerable time *before the Restoration*; because in the very next Paragraph in his *second*, and the *same Testimony* he mentions his asking the Bishop *after the Restoration, whether King Charles the Second ever knew he wrote it*. And this is yet another Prejudice to his Testimony, and shews plainly that he fluctuated, and was wavering in his Mind, and could not well tell at what time to fix it; for the Assertions as they stand in the *first* and *second Testimony* are apparently contradictory; not but that if the thing had been true, Dr. *Gauden* might have told him so at several times; but that does not at all weaken the force of the Objection, because each Testimony stand intire and by it self, and neither of them have any reference to any other time, nor any manner of Intimation that it might be extended beyond the particular time mention'd respectively. The *Second* is express, *some time after the King's Murder*, the first as express *a little before his Death*, and each of them without the least Qualification or Surmize, that it had been said at any other time; so that each of them fixing a determinate time when that was said, and no other, 'tis a plain Contradiction, the respective times are inconsistent and irreconcilable, the respective Assertions are limited to those times, the one before the Restoration, the other long after it, *a little before his death*; insomuch as this single Witness differs as much from himself, as the two Judges in *Daniel* did from each other; they fastned their Accusation to *two different Trees*, and he his Assertion to *two different times*, and many Years intervening: and he is involv'd in the same Guilt, and for the same reason, for he is as inconsistent with himself, as they were with one another, and deserves the same Credit, and stands convicted under the same Character of a false Witness.

V. Passing by the Differences and Variations that are in Major *Huntington's* Story, which I have consider'd elsewhere; I shall only here observe, that in his *second Testimony* he hath added one whole and intire new Article, and that is concerning King *Charles the Second*,

cond and the Duke of York; of whom, or either of them, there is not the least mention in the *first Testimony*. This makes a very considerable part of his *printed Relation*. The Persons sure were too great to be omitted, or to slip out of his Memory; and especially when they make such a mighty Figure in reference to his own printed Story of this Book. And it is but a very proper and natural Inquiry, how came these two great Princes to be intirely forgotten in the latter end of 90, and yet in 91 to have so much Concern in it, nay more than their *Martyr'd Father*; for according to Dr. Walker, King Charles the First knew nothing of the Matter, as far as Dr. Gauden could tell, but he was sure the Duke did, and believ'd the same also of King Charles the Second. Now I must leave every Man to judge for himself, and to try his utmost Skill and Cunning, if he can possibly find out a Reason, that if it was true, he should, or possibly could totally leave out such a material and considerable Branch of his Evidence; any Man sees how wonderfully full he was of it, how very zealous to propagate it, how ready to offer his Reasons in defence of it, how he had inserted in his *first Testimony* things of far less Consequence, and particularly the Story of Major *Huntington*; and yet at the same time, perfectly to drop this which is more material than most Things, and as material as any thing he had deliver'd. For my part I can but guess, and I am apt to conceive that this Addition was made upon this account. Dr. *Hillingworth* (against whom he wrote,) had said, *That Dr. Gauden putting in for Worcester, King Charles the Second ask'd him what Pretence he had?* He said, *He put out his Father's Book: Which Answer, tho' true in some sense, yet being spoken ambiguously, &c.* Now to answer this, he coin'd this Story, and any Man who will read the Answer he gives to it, will probably be of my Mind; for he argues purely from this very Story of his own telling; as for instance, (p. 15, 16.) *Whereas 'tis said Dr. Gauden told King Charles the Second, whoever said so, said what was not so;* and then refers the Reader to his own added Story. See Sect. 1. Reason 4. Again, *Tis strange he should tell the King, and yet not know the King knew it but by Inference, because the Duke of York did.* Again, *The King ask'd him. Still worse and worse;* the King ask'd him no such Question, nor was there the least reason he should, and the Bishop never answer'd. Again, *Spoken ambiguously; not spoken at all, there he not spoken ambiguously.* Any Man sees here, that he plainly answers his Adversary out of his own Story. There was no need of this before when he gave his *first Testimony*; that Objection had not been then started. And if this be impartially consider'd altogether, the *first Omission*, and *second Addition*, together with the proceedings upon that Addition, making it argumentative against his Adversary, most Men will be apt with me to believe, that he fram'd this on purpose to find a direct

Answer to his Adversary, and because he had no better ready, like the Spider her Webb, he spun it out of his own Bowels; and according to the Character of him, which I have receiv'd from some Reverend and Worthy Men of his Neighbourhood, he would not have stuck at a thousand Stories to have gain'd his point. However, 'tis plain, here we have an Addition of an intire new Article, and together with that, that he makes use of this very Addition to confute his Adversary; and this is a plain and visible Reason for this new Addition, but no mortal Man can give a Reason for the Omission of it before. And to conclude this point, that sure is a strange sort of an Evidence that must be suited to Seasons and Opportunities, that must be *pared off*, and *pieced up* according to Occasions and Objections; and like the Guests of *Procrustes*, must be made longer or shorter, according to the Dimensions of the Bed they lay on.

VI. There is yet one Article behind, and that contains as plain a Contradiction as Words can make. In the *First* it is, *Dr. Walker and Mr. Gifford were both privy to these Affairs, living together in the Bishop's House, though the Doctor is uncertain whether he ever read this Book in MS. or only saw it with its Title of the Chapters; tho' he thinks that Mr. Gifford might Copy it out.* This consists of two Parts, (1.) What concerns Mr. Gifford: and as to his Transcribing that or any thing else, I can neither affirm nor deny; but as to his believing that Dr. Gauden was the Author, there is an unexceptionable Evidence to the contrary, and that is of Dr. Lake Archdeacon of Exeter, and Rector of St. Mary-Hill London, who was near Neighbour, and an intimate Friend of Mr. Gifford's for many Years, and who in his Visitation declared in the presence of Mr. Long and another judicious Friend (as Mr. Long himself testifies in Dr. Walker's Account examined, pag. 6. *That he well knew Mr. Gifford, and that discoursing with him occasionally concerning the King's Book, Mr. Gifford thought it, next to the Holy Scriptures, to be one of the most Divine Books that had been written: And that Mr. Gifford Preaching on the 30th of January, and urging to Charity, he quoted this Passage out of that Book as being the King's Book: "It is all that is now left me, a power to forgive those that" depriv'd me of all; and, I thank God, I have a Heart to do it."* I need make no Observation upon this; Mr. Gifford, Dr. Lake, and Mr. Long were all Learned Men, and of clear Reputation, and by many degrees beyond Dr. Walker; and no Man who knew or hath heard of either of them, can believe either that Mr. Gifford would have asserted it on so solemn and sacred an Occasion; or that Dr. Lake would have declared it from Mr. Gifford, or Mr. Long from Dr. Lake, if the thing it self had not been undoubtedly true; and it passed clean and uncorrupt through the respective Hands: And moreover, Mr. Long's Attestation was Printed many Years before the Death of

of Dr. Lake, which confirms it beyond all doubt and dispute. And this single Instance shakes the Foundation of all Dr. Walker's Evidence; for if Mr. Gifford did not believe it, 'tis certain he was not privy to it, 'tis certain there was no such speaking of it in Dr. Gauden's presence or absence, *without the least doubt, no such assurance amongst them of the Family*; and in short, not a Tittle or Word of Truth, of which he says, they were all *as much assur'd, as they possibly could be of any Matter of Fact*. This single Point, I say, shakes the Foundation of all this; but that which follows pulls it up by the Roots, which is the Second Part. (2.) Dr. Walker is *uncertain whether he ever read this Book in MS. or only saw it, with its Title of the Chapters*. Now this is as flat and gross a Contradiction to what he asserts in his *Printed Relation*, as can well be couch'd in so many Words, and by a just, equal and legal Construction, utterly overthrows his whole Testimony, and renders it of no value in the world. For in his *Printed Account*, but a Year after, *pag. 4.* he says, in despite and defiance of what he had with all assurance affirm'd before, that Dr. Gauden *acquainted him some time before the whole was finished, with his Design, and shew'd him the Heads of divers Chapters*. So far all is well, and there is no disagreement. But then it follows, and *some of the Discourses written of them*. This is somewhat more than merely seeing it with its *Title of the Chapters*, for he saw the Chapters themselves, the *Discourses* that were written upon those Heads, and that not only a mere transient View, as if he had just seen them and no more; but Dr. Gauden's *showing him the Heads and Discourses*, is to be taken in a large sence; that is, so shewing them, as to give him a liberty to read them over, and peruse them; for it immediately follows, *and after some time spent in perusal*; so that it seems he had time enough to peruse it, and so much time, as to consider it, and give his Judgment and Opinion concerning it. For he tells us, that Dr. Gauden *ask'd his Opinion concerning it*, and he made an Objection to it. This perfectly crosses and thwarts his *First Testimony*, and there is no more Agreement between them, than between Light and Darkness. He is *uncertain, whether ever he read this Book in MS.* and a little after he is very certain that he read it, and read it carefully too, so as to consider well of it, and give his Opinion about it. Now if the same Man can be *both certain and uncertain* of the same thing, all the world will conclude, that there can be nothing certain that he delivers. And to make the Contradiction yet more apparent, and to shew what Credit is to be given to Dr. Walker's Assertions, he adds, *And I perfectly remember, that in the second Chapter, which is of the Death of the Earl of Strafford, there being these Words, which now in the printed Book of the first*

Edition are, pag. 8. lin. 18, 19, 20. "He only hath been least vext by them who counselled me not to consent against the Vote of my own Conscience. He told me whom he meant by that Passage, the then Bishop of London, Dr. Juxon. So that here we see Dr. Walker remembering not only the *subject Matter* of one Chapter, but an *entire Sentence* in that Chapter, and a very particular *Explanation* relating to it; and this not only barely remembering, but the utmost and clearest degree of that, *I perfectly remember*. Now let the Reader cast his Eye back to what this same Doctor hath said in the same Case, that *he is uncertain whether ever he read this Book in MS. or only saw it, with its Title of the Chapters*. Now if a Man can in the same Matter forget and remember at this rate, what ever he may be qualified for, to be sure he is not qualified to be a *Witness*; and as no body else can believe him, so he ought not to believe himself. Here we have the same Man in the same Story flying in his own Face, and in express and direct Terms contradicting himself; and if two Men in giving Witness to one and the same Case, contradict each other in any Material Circumstances, argues Corruption in both, and renders both their Testimonies of no value; of how much greater weight is it, and strikes more home, when the same Man contradicts himself? I need not reflect upon this; nothing more, nothing worse can be said to invalidate any Testimony in the World. The universal Sense of Mankind hath already determin'd the Case, That when a Man interferes with himself, and contradicts his own Testimony, when there is a perfect disagreement and inconsistency in the Matter he delivers, it is a Prejudice to the whole, forfeits his Credit, and renders the Man, and all his Evidence altogether suspicious, and of no manner of Consideration or value. For which of the two Dr. Walkers must we believe, that Dr. Walker who is *uncertain whether he ever read the Book, or only saw it*? Or that other Dr. Walker, who is very certain he read and perused it, and perfectly remembers some part of it? 'Tis impossible they should both be true, and they stand both upon the same Credit and Authority; and 'tis certain, that whoever believes Dr. Walker, must believe a Lye on one side or other. But then they may be both false, and the honestest as well as the wisest way is to believe neither; that he neither saw it, nor its Titles, nor ever read, or perused it, or remembered any thing at all of the Matter. And all I shall remark is, That Dr. Walker's Memory hath fail'd him in that very Case, wherein a good Memory is more especially needful.

Upon the whole, what Judgment can the most credulous Man alive give upon such a *Protean* Evidence, which so often varies its Shape, and turns it self into all manner of Forms and Fashions.

'Tis

'Tis sometimes one thing, sometimes another, and sometimes again the direct contrary. 'Tis a perfect Emblem of *Ovid's Metamorphosis*, one Species is chang'd into another, and that again into a third, according to the plaittick Power of the Docter's Invention. There is not an intire Harmony between any one Article, scarcely one Sentence in the whole Testimony. 'Tis an heterogenous Composition, of different, contrary and contradictory Ingredients, and the parts quarrel with one another like *Ovid's Elements and Qualities*,

Erigida pugnabant calidis, humentia siccis,

and the whole Evidence is jult such another *Chaos*, where are jumbled and mixt together in one Mass all kinds of elementary Matter, things contrary in nature and inconsistent with one another. And what can be expected from a Man that blows hot and cold? What weight can be laid upon a Testimony that rings the Changes? What interpretation can be made, or what notice can be taken, when the Sound is not only uncertain, but contrary to it self? Let any Man, who hath not lost his Understanding or intirely resign'd up all his Faculties to a Party, justly reflect on these six Articles of Dr. *Walker's* Testimony, and let him withal consider the strange Changes and Variety, the many Substractions and Additions, the several contrary Assertions and direct Contradictions that there are in this single Man's Evidence, in the very same Case, and the very same Story, and I doubt not but he will find Charms sufficient to fortify him against being dazled with Dr. *Walker's* bold Appeals and Asseverations. They are things indeed very dreadful, and the very thoughts of them will inspire a Man with a sacred Horror; nevertheless it is too apparent, that when Men have once accustomed themselves, they are too apt to introduce them upon all Occasions as common Forms of Speech: I am heartily sorry to find so much of this in Dr. *Walker*, that they are so ready at hand at every turn, and which is worst of all, where he the most confidently sets on this Stamp of Assurance, the things themselves are most plainly and notoriously false. I shall have too many Occasions to prove this afterwards; in the mean time,

I shall produce one very remarkable Instance to lay before the Reader what Credit is to be given to Dr. *Walker's* Asseverations, and what Weight is to be laid upon that which he asserts with the utmost Boldness and Confidence. He says, (p. 8.) *I am as sure as I can be of any thing that Dr. Gauden made the Extract out of this Book, called Apothegmata Carolina; and not only so, but produces that as a Reason, and a main Reason too, that Dr. Gauden made the Book.* Now, though the Reason is very ridiculous, and rather proves the contrary, yet that not being my present business to examine, but only to shew what Consideration ought to be given to his horrid

Boldness and Confidence; for notwithstanding this confident Affe-
 veration, *that he is as sure of it as he can be of any thing*, the thing it
 self is perfectly and notoriously false, for it was not Dr. Gauden but
 Dr. Hooker who made that *Extrakt*, the same Dr. Hooker who cor-
 rected the Book it self, when it was printed at Mr. Dugard's Press;
 and Dr. Walker himself tells us that the *Apothegmata* was printed by
 Mr. Dugard. And Dr. Hooker hath attested this several times, and
 given it under his hand, and which I have at this time in my
 hands, and Mr. Long printed his Attestation many years before he
 died, and it is but about three years since that he left the World:
 In his latter days he was an old Gentleman of the *Charter-House*, and
 with whom I was well acquainted for several years, and he hath
 often affirm'd to Dr. Goodall, to my self, and to many others, that
 he himself (before his Travels) collected out of the King's Book the
Apothegmata Aurea Carolina, and which afterwards being conceiv'd to be
 too voluminous, he contracted it into a decimo texto, and to be a vade
 mecum. Here is a very plain and convincing Proof, of Dr. Walker's
 inconsiderate Boldness, (to say no worse) and what woful Liberty
 he gave himself in carrying on his Ends, and obtaining his Point;
 but this turns home upon him, extinguishes the force of all his Af-
 feverations, and makes them of less value than any honest Man's
 bare Affirmation. The more he uses them, the less still he gains by
 it, for all Mankind are apt to consider not only the Powers and
 Meaning of Words, but the Veracity of him who speaks them; and
 if a Man be once found to give the utmost Assurance he is able to an
 apparent Falsity, afterwards his Affeверations will be only a Noise
 in the Air, which affect no body, nor make any impression; so
 that how affirmative soever those Words *I am as sure as I can be of*
any thing may be in another Man's mouth, in Dr. Walker they only
 mean He imagines so, or he is mistaken and forgets himself: And
 in good truth, when a Man can with so much confidence and as-
 surance attest a plain Falsity in matter of Fact, it evidently shews
 what credit is to be given him, and that his Word, though back'd
 with never so many Affeверations, stands for nothing.

The next Evidence in the behalf of Bishop Gauden, is taken out
 of some Papers said to be in the Hands of Mr. Arthur North, Mer-
 chant, living on *Tower-Hill*; which Papers are said to be sent by
 Mrs. Gauden the Bishop's Wife, to her Son Mr. John Gauden; after
 his death they came into the Hands of Mr. Charles Gauden, and after
 his death to Mr. North. A Summary of which is printed in *Pag. 35.*
& seq. of a Pamphlet intituled *Truth brought to Light*, &c. and ac-
 cording to that Print, I shall briefly set down what seems the most
 to concern this Cause.

Amongst these Papers, there is said to be a Letter from the Bishop

to the Lord Chancellor Hyde, dated December 28. 1661. and a Copy of a Petition to the King, written by the Bishop's own Hand. In which he declares what Hazards, &c. and what he had done for comforting and encouraging the King's Friends, &c. And that what was done like a King, should have a King like Retribution, &c. Another Letter there is to the Duke of York, dated Jan. 17, 1661. urging his great Services, &c. As also a Letter from the Lord Chancellor Hyde to the Bishop, (of the Chancellor's Hand-writing) dated March 13, 1661. importing the Receipt of several Letters from him, that he was uneasy under the Bishop's importunity. And towards the close hath this Expression, *The Particular you mention has indeed been imparted to me as a Secret, I am sorry I ever knew it; and when it ceases to be a Secret, it will please none but Mr. Milton.* Now by all these Expressions, the Services the Bishop urges, the *doing like a King*, and the *Secret that will please none but Mr. Milton*, at the end of my Lord Chancellor's Letter, it is expected that we should understand the writing and being the Author of this Book. But what necessity is there for that? Were there no Services that Dr. Gauden had done besides? or at least, that he might plead whether he had done them or not? Was it not possible for Dr. Gauden to have, or pretended to have done like a King, *i. e.* freely and magnificently, (as that Scripture Expression means in the Case of *Araunah*) but this single Instance? And was there no other Secret in the World but this, that the divulging of it would gratify Mr. Milton? These therefore are mystical Expressions, and prove nothing; and the utmost that can be built upon them, is Presumption and Conjecture, which are far too feeble to support that which is raised upon them. However, if this were supposed, and that such was the meaning of those Expressions, it will still be resolved into the single Testimony of Dr. Gauden himself, and how valid that Testimony is in this Case, we shall see presently. And in the mean time, this plainly contradicts Dr. Walker's Evidence; which is, that Dr. Gauden told him, *He could not positively and certainly say that King Charles the Second knew that he wrote the Book.* And it would look very ridiculous to present a Petition to that King, and to use it as an Instance to recommend him to his Favour, that in behalf of the Royal Family *he had done like a King*, meaning, he had writ the Book, and at the same time not know whether that King knew he was the Author of it; but of this alio more presently. In the mean time, as to Dr. Gauden's Services, and which possibly may be the Plea he made to the King, he did indeed write and publish two Books; the one a *Protestation against the King's Death*, printed for Mr. Royston, 1648. and another, proving the *Non-obligation of the Covenant*; which might put him into the King's Favour: And in truth, it is very probable, that the *Protestation*

tion was the only thing Dr. Gauden was concerned in; and being printed by Mr. Royson, and about the same time, might be the occasion of all this Mistake, and might be the Book he gave to the Marquess of Herford, &c. if any such thing was ever done. But of this Particular, I shall have occasion to speak more fully hereafter upon a more fit opportunity, and with reference to Mrs. Gauden's Narrative.

But to put this matter past all doubt and dispute; since the first publication of this, I have met with an opportunity to satisfy myself, and all reasonable Men, that by those mystical Expressions at the end of my Lord Chancellor Hyde's Letter, he did not intend the King's Book, or any thing relating to it; for having heard that the Right Honourable the present Earl of Clarendon had spoken something concerning a Letter the late Bishop of Winchester (Dr. Morley) had written to my Lord Chancellor during his Banishment relating to this matter, and also conceiving that his Lordship might best understand his Father's sense, I made bold to apply myself to his Lordship: And his Lordship was pleased very generously to direct a Letter to me, bearing date from Swallowfield, October the 22d, 1694. wherein his Lordship is pleased to express himself, That his Lordship had seen that Letter at Mr. North's, and own'd it to be his Father's hand; but that there is no mention in that Letter of the King's Book, so that whatever the malicious Scribler draws from that Letter, is of his own wicked invention, as if a Secret my Father owns to have heard, must needs be the Secret of Dr. Gauden's being the Author of that Book which goes under the King's name. And as to a Letter from Bishop Morley, his Lordship says That is a mistake, for the Act of Parliament which banish'd my Father, made it Penal for any to write to him, except his Children and Servants, and even they to shew all they writ to, and receiv'd from him, to one of the Secretaries of State. But the occasion of that mistake might be; for that his Lordship in the year 1674, (by the command of his Father, and with the leave of the King and Queen) preparing to attend his Father that Summer in France, his Lordship first went to Farnham to the late Bishop of Winton on the 14th of May; and among several things his Lordship had in Charge from the Bishop to say to his Father, he bad him tell him That the King had very ill People about him, who turn'd all things into ridicule; that they endeavour'd to bring him to have a mean Opinion of the King his Father, and to persuade him that his Father was not the Author of the Book, which goes under his name. And when (after his Lordship's arrival in France, May 30, 1674) his Lordship had deliver'd his Father these particulars among others, to that concerning the Book, his Father reply'd Good God! I thought the Marquess of Herford had satisfy'd the King in that matter.

This Letter of my Lord *Clarendon* I have now by me, and I have made bold to transcribe these Passages out of it, for the unquestionable satisfaction of the Reader in this point. For from hence it plainly appears,

1. That my Lord Chancellor did not himself believe that any other person was the Author of this Book besides the King.

2. That it was matter of great admiration to his Lordship, that any person should go about to persuade the King that his Father was not the Author of it. And this being almost thirteen years after the Date of the former Letter from my Lord Chancellor to Dr. *Gauden*, 'tis evident to a demonstration that whatever may be the meaning of these Expressions, *the Secret that would please none but Milton*, they neither do nor can mean the Secret of Dr. *Gauden*'s being the Author of that Book.

Among these Papers there is also said to be *A Letter of Mrs. Gauden's, after the Death of her Husband, to her Son Mr. John Gauden, in which she speaks of the Book commonly called the King's Book, and calls it the Jewel, and adds, that her Husband hoped to make a Fortune by it, and wonders it should be doubted whether her Husband wrote it, but says, she has a Letter of a very great Man to clear it up.*

There is also (said to be) a long Narrative of *Mrs. Gauden's* Hand-writing, shewing, that her Husband wrote the Book, and sent to her Son with the Letter.

This Narrative sets forth, that after her Husband had wrote the Book, he shewed it to the Lord *Capel*, who approved it, and was for the Printing it, but wished the King might have a sight of it: that immediately after an opportunity was taken to convey it to his Majesty by the Lord *Marques* of *Hertford*, when he went to the Treaty at the Isle of *Wight*.

That the *Marques*, after his return from thence, told her Husband, that he gave the Book to the King, and his Majesty did well like it, but was for putting it out, not as his own, but another's; but it being urged, that *Cromwell*, and others of the Army, having got a Reputation with the People for Parts and Piety, it would do best to be in the King's Name. His Majesty took time to consider of it.

That her Husband not hearing the King's Pleasure about it, and finding Dangers hastening on him, he having kept a Copy by him, sent it by one *Mr. Simons* to the Press, together with a Letter, that *Mr. Royston* was the Printer, but did not know but the King wrote it; that part was seized in the Press, together with her Husband's Letter, and *Mr. Simons* was taken. That nevertheless the Work was carried on, and finished a few days after his Majesty's Death; that when it was Published the Parliament was enraged; and infinitely sollicitous to find out the Author; and they took that very Manuscript which her Husband had sent his Majesty, and saw that it was none of his Majesty's Hand-writing, and they

they appointed a Committee to examine the Business, and her Husband conceiving his Life and Estate in danger, fled to Sir John Wentworth's near Yarmouth, intending thence to pass the Seas, but Mr. Simonds being taken, and immediately falling sick and dying, and her Husband not being discovered, he altered his purpose, and returned home.

That there was an Epistle first intended, that the first Title was *Suspiria Regalia*, but changed to *Icon Basilice*; and that there were two Chapters added.

That the Marquess of Hertford, the Lord Capel, Bishop Duppa, and Bishop Morley were at first the only Persons privy to it.

That Bishop Duppa of Winchester being very sick, her Husband went to the King, and acquainted him that he was the Author of the Book, and for the truth thereof appealed to Bishop Duppa his Majesty's Tutor, who was yet living, and made an Apology for Printing it without his Majesty's Father's Order, or his, but pleaded the Circumstance of Time, and the King's Danger; that his Majesty told her Husband, That till then he never knew that he wrote it, but thought it was his Father's, yet wondered how he could have time, and observed, that it was wrote like a Scholar, as well as like a King: and said, if it had been published sooner, it might have saved his Father's Life, that at the same time the King gave him a Promise of the Bishoprick of Winchester.

That he afterwards acquainted the Duke of York that he was the Author, &c. This is the Sum of the Evidence that is collected from these Papers. And from hence I have these things to observe.

I. Mrs. Gauden says, that after her Husband had wrote it, he shew'd it to my Lord Capel, who highly approv'd of it, and thought it would do well to have it printed, yet it was not fit to do so, without his Majesty's Approbation: and to speak to his Majesty was then impossible, in regard of the strict Guard then kept about him. Now I have but one small Objection to this, that it is utterly impossible for Dr. Gauden to shew this to the Lord Capel, except Dr. Gauden could fly in the Air, or had Gyges's Ring to walk invisibly. For when was it that the Dr. shew'd this to the said Lord? that Mrs. Gauden tells in the Words next following immediately after this, (that is, immediately after he had shew'd the Book to the Lord Capel,) there was a Treaty with his Majesty at the Isle of Wight. Now I suppose it will necessarily follow, that if there was a Treaty immediately after, then it was immediately before that Treaty, that Dr. Gauden shew'd the Book to the Lord Capel. And this is what I say is utterly impossible; for what space of time will reasonably be allow'd to be comprehended under the term immediately? suppose two or three days, suppose a week, nay suppose a month, and that is a pretty large allowance, and a great stretch too, to be called immediately: And 'tis a monstrous kind of Speech to say immediately after, and thereby meaning at least a month after.

after. But if it was allowed, even that will not do, nor yet two, nor three months; for the Treaty at the *Ile of Wight* began *September 18, 1648.* and the Lord *Capel* was shut up in *Colchester*, and that Town was besieg'd and actually invested by *Fairfax* about the 12th or 13th of *June*, and that is more than three months before the beginning of the Treaty. And to this must be added, that the Royalists had sufficient time to fortify *Colchester*, and make it tenable, before *Fairfax* came with his Army to invest it; and it was made so strong, that all *Fairfax's* Power could not take it, till Famine forced them to surrender. To this likewise must be added the time of their being in Arms, before they retreated to *Colchester*; for my Lord *Capel* brought two thousand Horse and Foot and join'd with the Royalists, and they were some considerable time in the Field, before they march'd to *Colchester*: And it might not be unreasonable to add to this, the time he must have to prepare himself and his Party for the Insurrection. However, here is enough in all conscience utterly to confound Mrs. *Gauden's* Assertion; for from the time of my Lord *Capel's* taking up Arms, and joining with my Lord *Goring*, Sir *Charles Lucas*, and the other Royalists, it is impossible that Dr. *Gauden* could speak with him, and much less shew him any such Book; And that must be at the latest in the month of *May*, if not *April* before, which must be four months at the least, if not five before the Treaty began. 'Tis probable enough, that the Lord *Capel* never knew Dr. *Gauden*, nor Dr. *Gauden* the Lord *Capel*; but if they had been never so familiar, it is impossible for Dr. *Gauden* to have communicated to his Lordship, or to have advis'd with him about that or any other Matters from the month of *May* before the Treaty, or indeed ever after: For after the surrender of *Colchester*, the Lord *Capel* was kept a close Prisoner in *Windfor Castle*, till he followed his Master, and was brought to the Scaffold by most of the same Men who murder'd the King; but that was not till some time after the King was beheaded. And this is one great Benefit we have by *Chronology*, and perhaps the greatest, that thereby we are enabled to discover Falsties in matter of Fact; and by adjusting the true Times and Seasons, many Errors and Faults are laid open, which otherwise would have been left in the dark. And Mrs. *Gauden* assigning the time, when she says her Husband shew'd this to the Lord *Capel*, to be *immediately before the Treaty at the Ile of Wight*, renders the Falstity of that Assertion, as perspicuous and transparent as in a Glass; because it was impossible for the Doctor, either to see him or converse with him for full four or five months before, and consequently lays a grand Suspicion upon the whole Narrative, that one part of it is no truer than the other; and as this is apparently, so the rest from hence may justly be presumed to be altogether Fiction and Invention.

H. Next Mrs. Gauden says, that when those in Power, found the Press, and seiz'd what was printed, they took likewise a Letter of her Husband's which he sent up to the Press, but could not find out from whence the Letter came, in regard it had no Name to it. She says farther, but not as from the Press: That they took that very Manuscript which her Husband had sent his Majesty, and saw that it was none of his Majesty's Hand-writing; upon this, they appointed a Committee to examine the Business. I put these together, because in some Particulars they are co-incident, and some part of my Observations will equally affect both. And first for Dr. Gauden's Hand, which respects both the Letter and the Book; certainly there was no great difficulty for them, or some of them to have known it well enough; he was well known to them, and for a long time, and had been frequently conversant among them, even from the beginning of the Rebellion to that Day. But if there had been any difficulty, when there was a Committee appointed to examine into it, (as Mrs. Gauden says there was) if none of them had known his Hand themselves, it had been no hard Matter for them, by calling People about them, and exposing the Book and Letter to view, to have found out almost any Man's Hand, tho' he were much less known, or less taken notice on than Dr. Gauden. But to put this Particular past all doubt, It was but a little before that he had wrote two Letters with his own Hand, and put his Name to them both, one to a great Colonel of the Army, and inclosed in that another to the General, and the great Officers and Committee of the Army, containing his *Protestation against the King's Death*; and which bare Date the 11th of *January* 1648, when they were bringing the King to his Tryal. This he own'd publicly, and printed it; so that Dr. Gauden's Hand could be no Secret among them, who had so very lately received two Letters from him, and Letters of such a nature too, that they could not forbear taking particular Notice of them: And for my own part, I do verily believe that these Papers, and these only, were all wherein Dr. Gauden was concern'd: These he might shew to Bishop Duppa and others, and desire their Judgment and Approbation of them. And if ever he imploy'd Dr. Walker to convey any Papers to the Press, these were they; and they indeed were of no such Bulk, but they might be pinn'd up between my Lady Warwick's Points; neither were they of such a Secret nature, but my Lord of Warwick's Family might well be acquainted with. For many who join'd with and encourag'd the Rebellion, were yet very averse to the King's Murder. And that which confirms this is, that these Papers were Printed by Mr. Royston, and at the very same Time that he was Printing the *Icon*; and came abroad, and were published before it; and if Dr. Gauden had been concern'd in the *Icon*, he would

would never have clapt in New Papers into the same Hand, of no great Moment, which might have retarded the Impression of the other, and moreover made it more lyable to Discovery. And if Mrs. Gauden may be credited, it is impossible he should do that, or any thing like it: For she tells us, and tells us too, as his Inducement to Print it with all speed: *That in his Opinion there was no way so probable to save his Majesty's Life, as by Endeavouring to move the Hearts and Affections of the People towards him; and that he thought that Book would be very effectual to that Purpose.* And is it possible for any Man who had such a Notion of this Book, as that it was the most hopeful way in the world to save the King's Life, to have it *Published with all speed*, to interpose a single *Protestation*; and with all possible Zeal and Earnestness to get it Printed? No certainly, his Heart and Soul would have been set on this, and he would have exerted all his Might and Vigour to have got this Published, and let *Protestations* have shifted for themselves as well as they could. This being so momentous, of such great Consideration, he would never have suffer'd any Interruptions in it, every thing must submit to it; and if he had thought the *Protestation* fit to be seen, he would however have postponed it, 'till he had discharg'd that great Work, which was a thousand degrees more prevalent for the Attainment of the same Ends. And I confess it is to me next to a Demonstration, that seeing they were both Printed by the same Man, and at the same Time, 'tis incredible they should both have the same Author. However, what Force soever there is in this kind of Reasoning, which must be left to every Man's Judgment, this is a Rational Conclusion, That as most Fictions have some Ground of Truth upon which they are grafted, so Dr. Gauden having made a generous *Protestation* against the King's Death; and indeed it is, tho' but short, yet the most rational and close, and the best Penned of any thing that I have yet seen of his: And therefore 'tis very probable he might shew it to, and have the assistance of others, and it may be of Bishop Duppa; and having not only boldly presented this to the great Officers of the Army, and to the General himself, but Printed it also, and set his Name to it: and this being printed at the same Time the *Icon* was, and by the same Person who printed that, this with the help of Invention, might in time grow up and multiply, according to the Fruitfulness of Mens Fancies and Imaginations, and his concern in the *Protestation* might be translated to the *Icon*, because the Place and Time of Printing, and the Person who Printed them, and in some measure the subject Matter they treated of, were common to both: and where there was a co-incidence of such and so many Circumstances, it was no hard matter for an ordinary Invention, if there was but Will and

Wickedness enough, to translate one to the other. And what confirms this, is, that neither Dr. Walker nor Mrs. Gauden, who tell us abundance of *Royson's* printing this Book, yet take not the least notice, nor have the least syllable, of his printing the *Protestation*, and which notwithstanding is evident to all the World, that *Royson* printed at the same time; and it is very unaccountable that they should know so much, and tell so many Stories of this Book, and yet know nothing at all of that which was notorious to all the Nation, and which falls in with the same time, place and person, when, where, and by whom this Book was printed. And if ever Dr. Gauden was in fear of trouble (as Mrs. Gauden affirms) that he went from his House in the night, to Sir John Wentworth's, it must undoubtedly be by reason of his printing and publishing the *Protestation*; and the very same thing might give ground to his Pretences to King Charles the Second, of his Services to the Royal Cause, and his Sufferings for it; for of any other Services or Sufferings they are so close and secret, that no Man can find out: And to be sure for *Sufferings*, it requires a magnifying Glass to make it appear that he suffer'd any thing; he was in fear perhaps for a few days, but his Interest in the Party soon releas'd those Fears, for he never lost a Farthing, but kept his great Living throughout all the Changes and Turns of State, without any impediment, disturbance or diminution, to the time of the Restauration.

II. The second point to be consider'd in this Assertion of Mrs. Gauden is, *That they took the very Manuscript her Husband sent to the King, and saw it was none of the King's hand-writing.* Now I suppose it will be granted by all Men, that if ever they had such a Manuscript in their hands, they would have made use of it to their best advantage; they would not have serv'd it like the pretended *Memorandum* of the Lord of Anglesey, thrust it up into Holes and Corners, and never care what became of it, but they would have examin'd it thoroughly, they would have produced it, and rais'd Arguments from it to serve their own Ends, and they need not to be told what Advantage they might make of its being written in another hand, and not the King's, and they would at least have taken some pains to have found out the Hand, and by whom it was written, and if it had been of Dr. Gauden's, they would easily (as I said but now) have discover'd it, and then they had gain'd their Point, and their Work at an end. And can any Man believe that those who, as Mrs. Gauden says, were infinitely solicitous to find out the Author, and had us'd all the Art and Industry that was possible for them, and had appointed a Committee to examine into it, and had moreover offer'd many Rewards, and us'd all Threatnings and Extremities on purpose to fix this Book on any other Author, and yet at the same time

time had in their own hands what would a thousand times better have answer'd their Ends, and have gain'd what they aim'd at without any difficulty. They had no more to do, but to publish *that they had the original Manuscript wrote in another hand*, and exposing it to publick view to be seen of all Men, and their business was done, or at least by this method two great Advantages would have happened to them; *First*, to find out the Writer, and *next*, to bring a discredit and suspicion on the Whole, and if not directly to convince, to create at least a diffidence and distrust concerning the Author. And to this I add, that if ever they had such a Manuscript, they would certainly have communicated it to *Milton*, when they hired him to answer it; and then to be sure it would have rung through the Nation, dawb'd over with all the venomous Animadversions that his malicious Wit or raging Malice could have supplied him. This would have been a fruitful Topick, and fine Matter for such a Man to work upon, and to be sure he never would have let it pass; for this Book, when it first came abroad, it hung over their heads like a flaming Sword, and it made them tremble lest it should influence the Nation to take vengeance on the Murderers of so admirable a PRINCE, and so lively appearing in this Book: By this the Nation knew the King and his Vertues, which they had so horribly disguised, and they fear'd *their Resentment*. Nor could they forbear expressing their Fears, notwithstanding the bold outside they carried before Men, and even *Milton* himself, as audacious and impudent as the worst of them, thus expresses himself to his Readers, *Some Men by Policy have accomplish'd after their death, that revenge upon their Enemies, which in their life they were not able*; and then instances in this Book (and parallels it to *Cæsar's Will*) *driving to the same End of stirring up the People to bring him that Honour, that Affection, and by consequence, that revenge to his dead Corps, which he himself living could never gain*. And although throughout the whole Book there appears nothing less than a Spirit of Revenge, nothing more than the King's wonderful Charity and Forgiveness, even to the worst of his Enemies, yet 'tis plain they stood so much in awe of it, were so dreadfully afraid of the Influence it might have upon the minds of Men, that they did all that was possible for them to do to suppress it; and when that could not be done; they employ'd all their Arts and Talents, all their Cunning, Power and Interest, to lay it at some other person's door, and to insinuate some other was the true Author. And this being the Case, at the same time it seems, according to *Mrs. Gauden*, they had an *Original* in their hands, and *not wrote by the King*, which they made no manner of use nor advantage of, never inquir'd with whose hand it was written, never examin'd one witness about it, never said one word

word of it, but kept it close in their own hands, as a wonderful Secret and Myſtery of State, that muſt by no means be divulg'd to the People. And I ſhall appeal to all the World, and to the moſt credulous Man living, that if in all their Inquiries and Examinations, they could have found but the leaſt Glimpſe of a Pretence, nay farther, if they could with all their Skill have but invented the leaſt colourable Ground to have laid it upon any other perſon, they would not immediately have made a Mountain of it, and have blaz'd it abroad with all the Obloquy they could, and they would have fill'd the Ears of the whole Nation, with the terrible Frauds, Forgeries and Impoſtures of the King and his Party; and yet, forſooth, when they had an irrefragable Proof by them, and ready at hand, they ſtupidly ſlept over it, never thought on it, never uſed it, never inquir'd into it, and never mention'd it. This I believe every Man, who hath the leaſt Knowledge of thoſe Men, and of thoſe Times, will take to be impoſſible; but then at the ſame time, he muſt withal take Mr. Gauden's Aſſertion here to be pure Figment, the product of Imagination, and not the real Truth.

III. The next thing to be obſerv'd from Mrs. Gauden's Narrative is, *That Mr. Simonds was taken in a diſguiſe, but God in his Providence ſo order'd it, that he ſicken'd immediately and died before he came to his Examination.* Now that Mr. Simonds ſicken'd and died is true, but not as Mrs. Gauden repreſents it; for ſhe makes it to be a little after the Book came out, whereas he lived ſome months after, and diſtributed ſeveral of theſe Books among his Friends and Acquaintance: She repreſents it too as if he died in Cuſtody, and immediately after he was taken, whereas he was free, and upon a Journey when he fell ſick. And the Truth is, excepting Mr. Simonds's Sickneſs and Dying, the reſt is all her own, and pure Imagination; for he was *never taken*, never deſign'd to be examin'd, but he was ſo free, that he was deſigning to go for *France*, and was got ſo far as *Graveſend*, where he fell ſick of the Small Pox and died; and this is att'eſted by his Wife. And what Weight can be laid upon ſuch Aſſertions, which are ſupplied and filled up with Imagination? What Truth is to be expected, when Stories are framed and pieced up for Accommodation? Mrs. Gauden had ſaid but juſt before, that her Husband was *in danger and forced to fly from his Houſe in the night*, and to ſuit it to that, Mr. Simonds muſt be taken and kept in cuſtody, and then to releaſe Dr. Gauden and ſet him at liberty to return, Mr. Simonds muſt die *before his Examination*. But when Mr. Simonds was neither taken nor intended to be examined, nor was there any ground for either, Dr. Gauden might have gone or ſtay'd for any danger he was like to run into about Mr. Simonds. I confeſs, this agrees well enough with the Story, that Dr. Gauden might be in fear
about

about the Book if the Person with whom he intrusted it, was taken up; but then if it does not agree with matter of Fact, if the Suggestions are all wrong, it gives quite another turn to the Story, and sets it upon another foundation than that of Truth. Fancy and Imagination are mutable things, and change with the Persons; but Matters of Fact are stubborn and inflexible, they cannot be wire-drawn to set out a Story, and make it more plausible. And here is a plain Case, if Mr. *Simonds* was not taken, if there were no Purposes, no Orders to bring him to Examination, then Mrs. *Gauden* in giving this Relation, hath trusted more to her Fancy, than to the Truth of the Case.

IV. Mrs. *Gauden* says, That her Husband acquainted King Charles the Second that he was the Author, and that the King was pleased to entertain some Discourse with him about it, and upon that the King promised him the Bishoprick of Winchester. Now what I have to answer to this, is taken from those very Papers of Mr. *North*; and I shall leave it with the Reader and his free Judgment, when he sees what is in these Papers, whether he can believe that the King himself in person, upon the merit of this Book, did presently and freely promise him the great Bishoprick of Winchester; for in these Papers there is a Petition to the King, with the utmost Importunity suing to the King for the Bishoprick of Winchester, filled with the most pressing and earnest Expressions he was able, intreating his Majesty's Favour to bestow it upon him. There is a Letter of Dr. *Gauden's* of the same Date (Dec. 28, 1661.) to the Lord Chancellor *Hyde*, with the same Importunity and Earnestness, endeavouring to engage his Lordship's Interest with the King for the procuring to him the same Bishoprick. There is, farther, a Letter of the said Dr. *Gauden's* to the Duke of York (dated Jan. 17, 1661.) with the same Earnestness, begging his Royal Highness to intercede with the King for the same Bishoprick, and that all his hope was in his Highness's mediation. Now do all these earnest and often Petitions and Sollicitations look as if the King had ever made any promise to him, or that he ever had any Desert to plead, or to expect so honourable a Favour from the King: for 'tis very remarkable, that in none of these there is the least mention of any Promise that the King had made him, which (if true) would have been a far better and more honourable Argument than any he did use: And in truth his not expressing, it neither to the King himself, nor to the Duke, nor to the Lord Chancellor, is a plain Proof that the King never did promise him; and his Importunity is another Proof; but which is the greatest Proof of all, and indeed is the worst of the Case, He offers one half of the Profits of the Bishoprick, if so be he might be made Bishop, and receive the other half. This is a Demonstration he had no Promise, he would never have bidden to have

for that which had been freely promis'd him already. And this shews likewise, that as the King, the Duke, and the Lord Chancellor, had no extraordinary Opinion of his great Merits, so it seems he himself was not very conscious of his own deservings; for had he any true Merit to plead, he would never have offer'd to pawn half the Bishoprick and his Conscience to boot, to obtain the other; and no Man under Heaven attempts Advancement by sordid and scandalous means, who can encompass it by methods more honourable and worthy.

V. The next thing I observe is, That this is all finally resolved into the single Testimony of *Dr. Gauden* himself, and of what Consideration that ought to be in the case before us, will appear from these particulars.

1. A Man's own Evidence in his own Cause, labours under very great Prejudices; and as the Wisdom of all Laws exclude a Man from bearing Witness for himself, so such Testimony can never be admitted to conclude and determine a Matter in Controversy in these two Cases.

1. When there is another Claim, and Pretender in possession of the thing in Controversy, in such a Case a Man's own single Testimony signifies nothing, nor is of any validity. The Book bears the Name of King *Charles*, and hath for many years been acknowledged to be his; and if *Dr. Gauden* should have said, that he was the Author, and not the King, it would not be sufficient to defeat the King's Title, nor to advance his own, because a Man's own Testimony is incompetent to determine the Controversy between two Rival Authors; on the one side there is the Authority of the Book itself, which in every Line owns it self to be the King's, as speaking in his Name, and the general Reputation of the World consequent upon that. On the other is only the Affirmation of another Pretender, who would claim it for his own upon his own Evidence: For let this Evidence pass through never so many Channels, it is one and the same Evidence still; if one Man tells a hundred that he did such a thing, and they all testify that he said so, there are indeed a hundred Witnesses that he said it, but there is but one that he did it, and that is himself: If therefore *Dr. Gauden* acquainted the King, the Duke of *York*, my Lord Chancellor, *Mrs. Gauden*, *Dr. Walker*, and several others, that he wrote the Book, the Evidence to the Fact is still but one, and that is *Dr. Gauden* himself; or if *Dr. Gauden* told *Mrs. Gauden* and *Dr. Walker*, that he acquainted the Marquess of *Hartford*, Bishop *Dappa*, the King, &c. *Mrs. Gauden* and *Dr. Walker* may be two distinct Witnesses that he said so, but there is but one that he did so, and that is himself. So that this whole Matter is resolved into his own Evidence, which in this Case is no Evidence at all, nor will any wise Man consider it as such; especially if to this be added,

2. If

2. If there be any Interest or Advantage to be reaped by it, in this Case a Man's own Testimony is always refused, because a Man is suspected as too partial to himself, and apt to be swayed by his Interests. And if we are to give any credit to these Papers, I am afraid Mrs. Gauden has revealed a great Secret, when she saith, *That her Husband hoped to make a Fortune by it.* For if that was the end of his owning himself to be the Author, it hath too great a mixture of carnal Ingredients, to gain much Credit; for if Men witness for themselves, to advance their Ambition and secular Designs, their Evidence is tainted, and favours of Project and Artifice, and Men always suspect on that hand. And I am sorry to find that these very Papers; insinuate to much of this very Temper to be in Dr. Gauden in these two Instances;

1. They lay before us a very strange and immodest magnifying his own Merits, and particularly in that to King Charles the Second, writ by his own hand, wherein he declares *What Hazards he had run of Life and Estate,* (and yet he kept one of the most considerable Livings in England all the time of the Usurpation) *and what great Advantage had accrued to the Crown by his Service.* (And in his Letter to the Duke of York, *He strongly urges the great Services he had done.*) *That what was done like a King, should have a King-like Retribution: And instances in the Cases of Joseph, Mordecai and Daniel, who were honored and rewarded for the Services they did to their respective Princes,* and in particular observes, *That Abasuerus was unawfully ill Mordecai had had his merited Reward.* Now these are fine Characters indeed, and give a good account of Dr. Gauden's Performances: but they look a little scurvily, coming from his own Mouth: Had the Doctor never a Friend at Court? Methinks my Lord of Warwick or Manchester, his known Friends and Patrons, or else my Lord Marquis of Hartford, and Bishop Duppa, might have sav'd him this Trouble; and so certainly they would, had they known by him such a thing as the writing the King's Book. But since the Doctor was forced to make use of himself, it seems pretty plain, that there was no body else to employ in this Matter, and that no person about the King knew the Doctor's Merits so well as himself. The Truth is, a Man that is clamorous in his own Praise, always looks suspiciously; and he that can break through all the Bounds of Modesty and Decency to magnify his own Merits, may possibly not be very shy in straining at a Point of Truth, to make it good; Boasting always stands near Untruth, and treads on the very Heels of it. To this may be added,

2. An immoderate Desire of Reward, and undue Solicitation for it. Thus these Papers represent him as discontented with his Preferment to the Bishoprick of Exeter, telling the King, *That he had a*

high Rack, but a low Manger; altho' there be several Bishopricks in England and Wales inferior to that in point of Revenue, and at that time, possessed by Men of very great Worth and Virtue. Thus also he teaches the King to be grateful to him, by the respective Advancements of *Joseph, Daniel and Mordecai*. Thus in the Letter to the Duke of York, *He importunately begs his Royal Highness to intercede for him with the King*. And in the Lord Chancellor Hyde's Letter to him it is expressed, *That he was uneasy under the Bishop's Importunity*. These things plainly represent a very ambitious Temper, covetous of Preferment, hasty and impatient in the pursuit of it; and when Men are under the power of such a Complexion, they do not generally manage themselves by nice and punctual Methods, and to be true such a Man's Merits, will lose nothing by his own telling them, nor himself any thing for want of asking. And the truth is, overvaluing our own Merits, and claiming those which are none of our own, differ very little in point of Modesty and Virtue; and he that can do one, in all probability will not stick at the other, if he thinks it feasible to accomplish the Ends he aims at. So that those who have published these Papers have done but little Service to the Bishop's Memory, and as little to the Cause they pretend to maintain; for tho' I do not from hence conclude, that the Bishop ever told King Charles, the Duke of York, or the Lord Chancellor, that he was the Author of this Book; yet if ever he did so, or to any others, I do conclude, that it being his own Cause, and for such Ends, and mixed with such a Temper, it apparently sinks the Credit of his own Testimony, and renders it of no value.

2. Another thing which would take off the Force of Dr. Gauden's Testimony in this Case; supposing he ever attested it, is the Immorality and Infamy of the whole Practice, which must be charged upon him upon such a supposition; and that is Writing a Book in the King's Name, and therein personating him in the Acts of Piety, Devotion, and high Points of Conscience; which, whatever the end might be, in the softest Language, is first inventing a Falshood, and then imposing it upon the World, and (as these Papers intimate) upon the King too, (for they plainly tell us he never had the King's Consent.) Had the Devotionary part been composed for the King's private Use and Assistance, the Attempt might have been dutiful and charitable, tho' there had been no need for it to a Prince who was so admirably qualified himself; and the King, if he had thought them suitable, might by them have expressed the Sence of his own Heart. But to give them to the World as the King's own, which he never framed nor used, nor so much as owned, is to counterfeit the King's Conscience; which, as I take it, is a more audacious and far greater Crime, than to counterfeit his Coin, his Hand,

or his great Seal: For such a Practice mocks God as well as Men, and daubs and juggles in those very Cases, in which are required the greatest plainness and sincerity. And in all respects, to counterfeit Prayers, Repentance, Charity and other Graces, (abundantly expressed in that excellent Book) and to impose them upon the World for true and genuine, is such a piece of Forgery and Imposture, Fraud and Hypocrisy together, that no end can warrant, and nothing can parallel. And now, if a Man had acted in such a manner, methinks he should have but little stomach to own it, or if he did, in the same breath he convicts himself of Falshood, and lays a Bar to his own Testimony; for 'tis obvious, that if a Man in such Circumstances can father his own Book upon the King, he may with the same Truth and Justice lay claim to the King's Book. And the pretence of *good Ends* does not alter the Case; for no doubt a good Bishoprick may be thought a *good End* too, and he that thinks the *King's Honour* will justify the acting *deceitfully* for him, may as well think his *own Honour* may justify the same measure for acting for himself. And what, I wonder, is such a Testimony worth in this Case, when the Testimony it self plainly declares, that he first abused the World, in giving them a Book for the King's, which was not his, and afterwards abused the King, in taking great Pains to assume it to himself. And the truth is, this Evidence (such as it is) confronts it self; for if *Dr. Garden* was the publisher of this Book, (as these Papers represent) then he gave as publick an Evidence as was possible, that the King was the Author of it, and as much as any Man does, who sets his Name to his own Works. And if he told *Mrs. Garden*, *Dr. Walker*, or any other, that he himself was the Author, then he told them one thing, and the whole Kingdom another; which, at last, makes a fine Evidence of it, and very fit to determine the Controversy, which in the very Case contradicts it self; and it is impossible to reconcile *Dr. Garden* the Publisher, to *Dr. Garden* the private Relater. I must confess, I am heartily sorry and afflicted, that I have said thus much concerning *Bishop Garden*, considering both his Character and Station in the Church, and that he hath been long since dead: But those who have been so earnest to assert his Right to this Book, are to be thanked for it, for it is the very Character they have given him, and the very Means they have used to prove his Title. And if the Memory of *King Charles* the First, must stand in competition with the Memory of *Dr. Garden*, I think there needs no Apology for doing Right to that King's Memory, tho' it should reflect on *Bishop Garden*, or a greater Subject than he. But this I have said only on supposition, that *Dr. Garden* did in truth own himself to be the Author: but that which follows, I hope will clear him from that Imputation,

how severe soever those who plead his Cause have been to his Memory. And that is,

6. The sixth thing I have to observe from these Papers of *Mrs. Gauden*; which is, that they do in direct Terms and in notorious Instances contradict the Testimony of *Dr. Walker*. And to make this very plain, I shall set them opposite to one another in two Columns.

Doctor Walker, p. 5.

Dr. Gauden, some time after the King was murdered, upon my asking him, Whether He (the King) had ever seen the Book, gave me this answer. I know it certainly no more than you, but I used my best Endeavours that he might, for I delivered a Copy of it to the Marquess of Hartford, when he went to the Treaty at the Isle of Wight, and intreated his Lordship, if he could obtain any private opportunity, he would deliver it to his Majesty, and humbly desire to know his Majesty's Pleasure concerning it. But the Violence which threatened the King hastening so fast, he ventured to print it, and never knew what was the Issue of sending it; for when the thing was done, he judged it not prudent to make farther Noise about it by Inquiry.

D. Walker, pag. 5.

I asking him (for we seldom were in private but somewhat was discoursed of this Book, even to the last time I saw him after he was Lord Bishop of Worcester elect) Whether that King Charles the Second knew that he wrote it, he gave me this answer. I cannot positively and certainly say he doth, because he was never pleased

Mrs. Gauden, pag. 37.

“ An opportunity was taken
“ to convey (the Book) to his
“ Majesty, by the Lord Mar-
“ quess of *Hartford*, when he
“ went to the Treaty at the
“ Isle of *Wight*: That the Mar-
“ quess, after his return, told
“ her Husband, That he gave
“ the Book to the King, and
“ his Majesty did well like it,
“ but was for putting it out,
“ not as his own, but as ano-
“ thers. But it being urged,
“ that *Cromwell* and others of
“ the Army having got a great
“ Reputation with the Peo-
“ ple for Parts and Piety, it
“ would do best to be in the
“ King's Name. His Majesty
“ took time to consider of
“ it.

Mrs. Gauden, pag. 38.

“ *Bishop Dappa* of *Winchester* being ve-
“ ry sick, her Husband went to the King,
“ and acquainted him that he was the
“ Author of the Book; and for the truth
“ thereof, appealed to *Bishop Dappa*, his
“ Majesty's Tutor, who was yet living,
“ and made an Apology for printing it
“ without his Majesty's Father's Order or
“ his, but pleaded the Circumstances of
“ Time and the King's Danger. That
“ his Majesty told her Husband, That
“ till then he never knew that he wrote
“ it,

pleased to take express notice of it to me; but I take it for granted that he doth, for I am sure the Duke of York doth, for he hath spoken of it to me, and own'd it as a seasonable and acceptable Service, and he knowing it, I question not but the King also doth.

“ it, but thought it was his Father’s, and
 “ wondred how he could have time; and
 “ observed it was wrote like a Scholar
 “ as well as like a King; and said, That
 “ if it had been published sooner, it
 “ might have sav’d his Father’s Life. That
 “ at the same time the King gave him a
 “ Promise of the Bishoprick of Winchester.
 “ That he afterwards acquainted the
 “ Duke of York, &c. That her Husband
 “ then told his Highness, that the King
 “ promised him the Bishoprick of Win-
 “ chester, and that his Highness assured
 “ him of his Favour.

There are several other Contradictions which I shall not repeat here, because they are fully and particularly express’d in the *Defence of the Vindication*, p. 53, 54, 55, 56. and to which I refer the Reader for his farther satisfaction.

And now, what an admirable Harmony and Agreement have we here? Such Evidence must needs be credited, they are so consistent with one another in their Stories. In Dr. Walker’s Evidence, Dr. Gauden did not certainly know, and no more than Dr. Walker himself, whether King Charles I. had ever seen the Book. But in Mrs. Gauden’s Evidence, the Marquess of Hartford told him, that he gave the Book to the King. In Dr. Walker’s, he never knew what was the Issue of sending it. But in Mrs. Gauden’s, that the King liked it well, but was for putting it out not as his own, &c. In Dr. Walker’s, when the thing was done, he judg’d it not prudent to make farther Noise about it by Inquiry. Nor need he, as Mrs. Gauden represents it, when the Marquess had told him already, and by such a remarkable Circumstance, That Cromwell, &c. having got a great Reputation with the People for Paris and Piety, it would do best to be in the King’s Name; and his Majesty took time to consider of it.

In Dr. Walker’s Evidence, Dr. Gauden could not positively and certainly say that King Charles II. knew that he wrote it. But in Mrs. Gauden’s he told that King himself, that he was the Author of it, and appeal’d to Bishop Duppa for the truth of it. In Dr. Walker’s he gave this as a Reason why he could not positively say it, viz. *Because the King was never pleased to take express Notice of it to him.* But in Mrs. Gauden’s the King took express Notice of it to him, and told him That till then he never knew that he wrote it, but thought it had been his Father’s, yet wondered how he could have time, &c. That, had it been published sooner, it might have saved his Father’s Life. And all this by

a very

a very good Token : *That at the same time the King promised him the Bishoprick of Winchester.* In Dr. Walker's, he collects the King's knowing it by inference, and takes it for granted, *because he is sure the Duke of York doth, and he knowing it, he does not question but the King also doth.* But in Mrs. Gauden's, *He acquainted the King himself;* and not only so, but he acquainted the King first, and the Duke of York afterwards; as Mrs. Gauden expressly, *That he afterwards acquainted the Duke that he was the Author.* And by the same Token, *That he then told his Highness, that the King promised him the Bishoprick of Winchester.* So that if it had not been said so expressly, this telling the Duke must be subsequent to that Promise, which (as Mrs. Gauden says) was at the same time that he told the King. And lastly, in Dr. Walker's, the reason of Dr. Gauden's Assurance that the Duke knew it, was, *For that the Duke had spoken of it to him :* But in Mrs. Gauden's, *That he had acquainted the Duke himself.*

And now, How like ye this my Masters? Is not this rare Evidence to convince the World, that agrees at this rate? Do Men use to believe a matter of Fact, upon the Credit of Witnesses who contradict each other? Methinks the Example of Daniel may serve to shew us the value of such Testimony, as well as to teach the King Gratitude. The two Elders were both positive as to the Fact, but their differing in circumstance detected their Falsity: And the two Elders did not differ from one another, by many degrees, so much as Dr. Walker and Mrs. Gauden. In short, either Dr. Gauden told these things respectively to Dr. Walker and Mrs. Gauden, or he did not; if he did not, their Evidence is of no value; if he did, his own is of no value, as contradicting himself.

And for a farther confirmation, to this I add the Testimony of Dr. Gauden himself, when he was Bishop of Exeter, and attested by Mr. Long, Prebendary of the Church of Exeter; *That he was acquainted with Bishop Gauden as long as he was their Diocesan, and had heard him often affirm, that he was fully convinc'd, that the 'Εκκλησιαστικὴ Ἔργα was intirely that King's Work.* This is fully against Dr. Gauden; for if he was fully convinc'd that it was intirely the King's Work, he himself could never pretend to have any share in the composition of it. And this (besides the bare Attestation, which yet is sufficient of it self, and especially considering Mr. Long's Character and Worth) Mr. Long confirms: As, *First*, By acknowledging the Bishop's Kindness to him, and in particular, *that he collated on him one of the first Prebends of his Church in his first year, and that he should be very injurious to his Memory to attest any Untruth concerning him.* And *Secondly*, Mr. Long gives the occasion of this Discourse of the Bishop: *That on the 30th of January, in the Bishop's first year, the Bishop preach't in the Cathedral in the forenoon, and Mr. Long in the afternoon by the Bishop's Order;*

Order; and, as occasion offer'd, Mr. Long aggravated that detestable Parricide, and among other Arguments urg'd the King's Piety and Clemency, reading several Paragraphs out of that Book to that purpose. The Duties of the Fast being over, the Bishop invited him to Supper, and standing by the fireside, the Bishop thank'd him for his Sermon, and then declared what he had above attest'd, (Dr. Walker's Account examined, p. 6.) This is full and clear, both in substance and circumstance. And to this I add the Testimony of Mr. Gauden, a Nephew of the Bishop's, and Muster Master of the Blew Squadron, who in 1694, the Fleet being in Torbay, made a visit to Mr. Giffus, Rector of Brixham, (a Town adjacent to the Bay.) Mr. Giffus hearing his Name, asked him, whether he knew any thing of what was published by Dr. Walker concerning his Uncle's writing the King's Book. He seem'd troubled at the Question, and said, *He was sorry such a false Report was spread abroad; for such I know it is, my Uncle was not the Author.* This, Mr. Young hath attested under Mr. Giffus's hand in a Letter, dated June 23, 1699. There were present at the same time Mr. Osborn's two Brothers, and they both affirm, that the said Mr. Gauden express'd an indignation to them, at the base dealing of some Men, that would endeavour to rob the King of his Book; and for that, they would make his Uncle guilty of so much Knavery, as to usurp it, whereas he had often and often heard his Uncle say, *That the King himself was the Author of it and no body else, and that of this he was well assured.* This I have written from the mouths of both the said Mr. Osborns of Exeter College, Oxon, in a Letter from Dr. Martin, principal of Hart-Hall, Oxon, Dec. 1. 1699. I need say nothing of this, nor draw any inference from it, the thing is clear of it self; here Dr. Gauden plainly and expressly affirms, that the King was the Author, and he only; and if ever he asserted the same of himself, he contradicts himself, and undermines his own Testimony: And which of the Dr. Gaudens must we believe, when he declares for the King's Title, and when for his own? In this case there is this material difference, That when he testified for the King, there was nothing to sway and bias him; but when for himself, there were Honours, Profits and Bishopricks in the way.

And so I have done with this part of the Discourse, the Evidence that is produced to intitle Dr. Gauden to this Book. And I appeal to all the World, whether such Testimony, so circumstantiated, be fit, or ever was admitted to determine the least Controversy in the World. And if there was no more to be said for the King's being the true Author, but only the bare Name and general Acceptation, that is abundantly sufficient to vindicate it to him from all that is here offered: And no rational and unprejudiced Man can alter his Sentiments, and translate it to Dr. Gauden upon such Evidence;

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and much less, if this be confronted by plain, direct and unexceptionable Evidence in behalf of the King. And this is the third thing.

But before I proceed to that, it may be reasonable to acquaint the Reader with a new Evidence that is lately come to my hands, in relation to this matter, and which plainly and fully informs us, what Title Dr. Gauden had to this Book, and what Share he might pretend to in it, and that is the Quality of a *Transcriber* or *Copier*, but by no means the *Author*, or having had any the least hand in the composition. This appears from a Letter (which I have now in my hands) of Mr. Le Pla, Minister of Finchingsfield, to Dr. Goodall. This Letter bears date Nov. 27. 1696. and the Passages in it that concern this matter are as follow.

William Allen was born in this Neighbourhood, where sundry of his Relations have lived in good credit. He had two Uncles Tradesmen in London; one of them a Draper, to whom he was an Apprentice; but upon the breaking out of the Civil Wars he shut up Shop, and his Kinsman William some time after was Servant to Dr. Gauden for several years, and at last married one of his Family, who is still alive, and tells me Dr. Walker lived there part of the time with them, and went thence to my Lord of Warwick's. Her late Husband Allen collected Tythes for me the two first years after my coming hither, by which means I afterwards received several Visits from him, wherein he would talk much of his Master Gauden, and the many Messages he had been sent upon in the night, between the Doctor and his Family, in those Times of difficulty; the Dangers he had incurr'd on his account, having more than once saved him from being robbed, and been wounded in his defence once particularly by a Pistol-shot in the Face, whereof he carried the Scar to his Grave. About ten years ago he had some small Estate befall'n him in Wethersfield, a Town about a mile and half from this place, upon which he lived the rest of his days, and died there in May last, in good and honest repute, for any thing I ever could hear to the contrary. I beg your pardon for troubling you with this long Story, which might seem impertinent, if it did not shew the great Confidence the Doctor reposed in him, and the reason he had to do so. But that which is more to the purpose, and which I am ready to make Oath of if desired, is, that this William Allen coming one day to see me, and after dinner being alone with me, I fell into discourse with him about Dr. Gauden and the King's Book. He said most people thought his Master to be the Author of it, or to have had the chief hand in it, or to that purpose. I told him I could never believe it, for some Reasons I then gave him. Whereupon he smiled, and told me, He believed he could say more to that business than any man besides him; for that Dr. Gauden told him he had borrowed the Book, and was obliged to return it by such a time; that (besides what other time he might imploy in it) he sat up one whole night to transcribe it; that he (William Allen) sat up in the Chamber with

with him, to wait upon him, to make his Fires and snuff his Candles. This I am ready to depose, if required. I think he said the Book was borrowed of Mr. Simmons of Rayne, one of the King's Chaplains; but it being some time ago, I cannot be so positive in that, and several other Circumstances, as I should have been, had I suspected his death so nigh, which happened before I heard of his sickness; but he being a vigorous healthy Man, always able to speak himself, I did not then think it necessary to take Notes of what he said, to whom recourse might be had at any time. That which makes it very probable that Dr. Gauden had the Book from Mr. Simmons, is the near Neighbourhood and great Familiarity which (I am told) was between them. One thing I had forgot, viz. That to my knowledge Allen could read and write very well, and so could not easily be deceived, either in the Book or in his Master's hand, tho' the Doctor had not told him that it was none of his. Thus far Mr. Le Pla, which is so very plain and clear, and full to the point before us, that I shall not need to say any thing to enforce it, but shall intirely leave it to the Reader's judgment, and so go on to the next, viz. Which is a Letter from Mr. Beaulieu, Prebendary of the Church of Winchester, to Dr. Goodall, and which came to my hands after the publishing of the Defence of the King's Vindication, and too late to be there inserted, and whereby we may collect that Mrs. Gauden her self had no such notion of this Book, as the Narrative and as Dr. Walker ascribe to her. I shall insert it at large, and *verbatim*, in these following Words.

Sir,

At my return hither, I find the Letter you have been pleased to honour me withal, what Answer I can give to your Queries is; That Bishop Gauden's Widow lived several Years here within the Precincts of this Cathedral, and here ended her days: That Mr. Lamb's Wife was familiar and intimate with her, to the highest degree: That Mrs. Gauden, when dying, gave this Mrs. Lamb many parcels of Papers. written most of them with her own Hand, with a charge that they should be all burnt after her Decease; there being Verses and other Compositions of her own, amongst those Papers which her Ladyship desired might not outlive her. This Mr. Lamb then lived close by Mrs. Gauden, and lives here still in the same Court, his Wife has been dead several Years; he himself is an ancient and very creditable Man, who hath been Alderman and Mayor of this City, and hath often declared to many, and to me several times, that casting his Eye on these Writings which were by the Author devoted to the Flames, he saw the Life of Bishop Gauden, written all of it by his Wife, and out of curiosity took it and read it; but therein found no manner of mention of the Bishop's having any Hand in composing King Charles's Meditations; tho', as Mr. Lamb judged, there was great care taken to bring in all Circumstances of whatever the Bishop had been, or had done,

that might be for his Credit; about taking his Degrees, being Chaplain in the Lord of Watwick's Family, Preaching before the Parliament, and being thereupon presented with a Tankard bearing such an Inscription, and many Possesges of the like nature; which makes it not probable, this vain Woman would have omitted the most glorious of all his Achievements, had the Bishop indeed had any Hand in that Heavenly Composure which is by some ascribed to him. He himself is thought to be ostentatious enough, and it appears he had acquainted his Wife with whatever could bring him Reputation. I can go no farther in my answering your desire; but Mr. Lamb is positive in this, and that he with pleasure and with application read the whole Manuscript relating to this Bishop's Life, and then deliver'd it to his Wife to be burnt, according to the Trust her Friend Mrs. Gauden had repos'd in her. Sir, you best are able to judge whether this can be any Service to that Cause you, and I think most good Men espouse; however, I have what I can, shew'd my self,

May 30. 1699. Sir, your obedient and very humble Servant,
Luke Beaulieu.

Before I make an end of this Part, I have yet one farther Observation to make upon the whole; and that is, That after the Publication of this Book, the Men in Power did all that was possible for them to do, to blast and discourage it, and did turn every Stone to fasten it upon any other Author. To this purpose were several Committees held, strict Examinations had, all Arts used, Threatnings denounc'd, and all manner of Rewards promis'd, no Enticements of any kind were wanting. Great Sums of Money were proffer'd to Mr. *Roxton*, great Rewards of Hundreds of Pounds to Mr. *Simmons's* Widow, to own the King was not the Author; and there is no doubt, but that they would not have stuck at any Rewards, how great soever, to have purchas'd such a Secret they so much set their Hearts on, and employ'd all their Endeavours about; and this is a strong Argument of the Truth of that Cause, which all their Power and Might, (which was then all in the Nation) all their Art and Industry, all their Severities and Threatnings, all their Bribes and Temptations, could not in the least shake or undermine; but it stood out (as Truth always does) like an invincible Bulwark, against the utmost Efforts and Assaults that the most powerful Wickedness, Malice and Cunning could make against it: Had it been an Imposture, far less Methods than these would have shaken it to pieces; there is no such Stability and Resolution that accompanies Fraud, but some of these Baits would have laid hold on one or other of the Persons concern'd; in particular, *Dr. Gauden* himself, his Constitution consider'd as the Papers represent him, with an unmeasurable Ambition, a mighty Thirst after Honour and Profit

Profit, that stuck at nothing, how mean and dishonourable soever, and even by Simony to get Advancement to a rich Bishoprick, whose limber and pliable Conscience suffer'd him to comply with all the Times, and keep his Preferments, *throughout all the various Stages and Changes of the several Usurpations*; that if he had been the Author of that Book, he would have missed such an Opportunity to enrich Himself and his Family; or that Mrs. Gauden would have neglected it; or that Dr. Walker, a Person of great Latitude in Morals; or, (seeing it was so generally known in the Family, as Dr. Walker says) *that neither Man nor Woman should swallow down this Golden Bait; and especially too, considering that in so doing there could have ben no Wrong done to the King; for as they tell it, he had given no Judgment of it one way or other, nor yet would there have been any wrong done to Justice or Truth; but only a Fraud, and Piece of Art detected; and which also (as they tell it) Dr. Gauden did freely and of himself, nay with Importunity and Violence discover, and for the very same End, to gain Riches and Advantage to himself.* The Force of this Reasoning must be left to every Man's particular Reflection. But this I may safely and justly say, that Conscience could not be in the Case, for that was violated in the first Attempt, and if that had sway'd any thing, it would have been the contrary way; for after a Man has been guilty of Fraud, the best Remedy is the soonest Discovery, it could not be Shame, to open his own Cheat; for when he was in a far higher Post, and in a greater Dignity, to whom Shame is more sensible, he did not (as they represent it) need any Pumping or Art to get it out of him, but purely and of his own Accord, and with Design too, discover'd it not only to the King, the Duke and others, but cram'd it down my Lord Chancellor's Throat whether he would or no. All I think that can be said is, that the first Bait was not large enough; but ev'n that will appear but a poor and insignificant Reason; for with covetous Men, and desirous of Gain, a present and certain Profit, tho' not so large, is always preferable to a future and contingent one, though it should be larger.

3. I shall produce the Evidence that hath appeared to prove the King the Author of this Book, and altho' there are some others, and which are of good Credit and may deserve Consideration, yet I shall confine my self to these, which are plain and direct, and come home to the very Case; a Testimony that plainly gives Evidence to the King's Title, and that Evidence unexceptionably convey'd to us: Some of these, and the most considerable, are summ'd up by Sir William Dugdale (in his short View of the Troubles in England, pag. 380.) in these Words: "I shall make it evident from
 " the Testimony of very credible Persons yet living, that he had

“ begun the penning of them long before he went from *Oxford* to
 “ the *Scots*. For the Manuscript it self, written with his own hand
 “ being found in his Cabinet, which was taken at *Nasby-Fight*,
 “ was restored to him after he was brought to *Hampton-Court*, by the
 “ hand of Major *Huntington*, thro’ the favour of General *Fairfax*,
 “ of whom he obtain’d it; and that whilst he was in the *Isle of*
 “ *Wight*, it was there seen frequently by Mr. *Thomas Herbert*, who
 “ then waited on his Majesty in his Bedchamber; as also by Mr. *Wil-*
 “ *liam Levett*, (a Page of the *Back-Stairs*) the Title then prefixed
 “ to it being *Suspiria Regalia*, who not only read several Parts there-
 “ of, but saw the King divers times writing farther on it. Add
 “ herunto the Testimony of Mr. *Richard Royston* a Bookseller at the
 “ *Angel* in *Ivy-Lane*; who having in those rebellious Times ad-
 “ ventured to Print divers of his Majesty’s Declarations, Speeches
 “ and Messages; about the beginning of *October 1648*, (the King
 “ being then in the *Isle of Wight*) was sent to by his Majesty to
 “ prepare all things ready for the Printing some Papers, which he
 “ purposed shortly after to convey unto him, which was this very
 “ Copy, brought to him on the 23^d of *December* next following, by
 “ one Mr. *Edward Simmons* a reverend Divine (who received it from
 “ Dr. *Bryan Duppa* then Bishop of *Salisbury*, and afterwards
 “ of *Winchester*. In the Printing whereof Mr. *Royston* made such
 “ speed, that it was finish’d before that dismal 30th of *January*, that
 “ his Majesty’s Life was taken away.

In this Summary are four considerable Evidences, Major *Hunting-*
ton, Mr. *Herbert*, Mr. *Levet*, and Mr. *Royston*; three of them di-
 rectly to the thing, and Mr. *Royston*’s so circumstantiated, as
 amounts very near to a direct Evidence.

1. Major *Huntington*. To this Dr. *Walker* excepts, (pag. 33.) that
 at *Tunbridge* the Major told him, that all he knew orever said concern-
 ing it was, when that Book was published, and so confidently reported to
 be the King’s, then surely, or I believe these are the Papers I saw him
 so usually take out of his Cabinet. But this was but my Conjecture, and
 I never declared it to be otherwise; for I assure you I never read one Line
 or Word of the Papers in the King’s hand; I was not so rude, and I cannot
 say there was one Passage in those Papers which is in this printed Book:
 For how should I, never having looked into them?

This is his Account, and of what weight Dr. *Walker*’s Word is,
 and how fruitful his Invention was in coining Stories, and fitting
 them to his own Purposes, I have abundantly shewed already, and
 shall sufficiently confirm, before I have made an end of this Arti-
 cle: Of this Fiction, made out his own Head, he hath the strange
 Boldness, as to averr, that he faithfully relates, as in the sight of God,
 and yet it is a most notorious and impudent Falshood, not one
 word

word of Truth, but a pure Invention of his own from one end to the other: And what Credit can be given to a Man, or what regard to any thing he says, who dare *call God to witness* to his own Inventions? This I shall make as clear and evident as any matter of fact can be. But because *this Particular is of such Importance in this present Controversy, it deserves a more particular and careful Consideration.* For if any of these Papers were wrote before *Naseby* Fight, if they were then seiz'd, and recover'd afterwards, Dr. Gauden's Title is extinct for ever, and all the Pretences on that Side are out of doors, and plain Forgeries from the beginning to the end. For all on that Side affirm it was begun long after that Fight, and that the King never saw it, till the Treaty at the *Isle of Wight*, which was at least three Years after. Inasmuch, that the Proving that these Papers were taken at *Naseby*, and afterwards recover'd, is as direct and convincing a Proof of the King's Title, and a Confutation of Dr. Gauden's, as possibly can be. And this I conceive I shall make as evident to the Reader, as a thing of this nature, at this distance of time is capable of; and to make it more easy to the Reader, I shall divide what I have to say into Two Parts.

I. What relates to Major *Huntington*, and his Testimony.

II. What hath no relation to Major *Huntington*, but confirms the Truth of it, independent of the Major's Testimony.

1. What relates to Major *Huntington*. &c. His Testimony indeed is very considerable, and of it self alone, without the conjunction of any other, is sufficient to carry the Cause against all the vain Pretenders, if there had been never so many: And to support this Testimony against all Cavils, and in particular against Dr. Walker's Fiction, and his bold Averment, I shall first produce *several other weighty and valuable Testimonies, attesting that Major Huntington had affirm'd the same thing to several Persons, at several Times, and upon several Occasions;* and secondly, I shall produce *that very Testimony, and in the very Words, which Major Huntington himself gave to Sir William Dugdale.*

1. Other Testimonies, &c. As first, that of *Richard Duke Esq;* and Justice of the Peace in *Devon*, in a Letter to Dr. Charles Goodall, June 15th 1692, in these words: *Sir, I confess that I heard Major Huntington to say more than once, that whilst he guarded Charles I. at Holmby-House (as I remember) he saw several Chapters or Leaves of that great King's Meditations, lying on the Table, several Mornings; with a Pen and Ink, with which the King scratched out or blotted some Lines or Words of some of them: Upon which I must also confess, that I concluded they were originally from the King; but others have drawn a contrary Argument from the King's correcting the Papers; yet I put this under my hand, that the Major told me that he did suppose them originally*

from

from that Learned Prince, which is the totum that can be intimated,
from, Sir,

Your humble Servant, Richard Duke.

In this Testimony of Mr. Duke, these things are to be cleared.

1. That there is a difference between this Account, and that of Sir William Dugdale's. But notwithstanding both their Evidences are very consistent, and by no means contradictory. Sir William Dugdale says, that Major Huntington, through the favour of Fairfax, restored to him the Manuscript after Naseby Fight; Mr. Duke only says, that the Major saw them lying on the Table, &c. which the Major might very well do, and yet before that restore them to the King, from General Fairfax; which as Mr. Duke says nothing of, so neither doth what he says any way contradict; so that Mr. Duke's Evidence is not contrary to Sir William's, but a Supplement to it, and a farther Account of the Major's Knowledge of this Matter: He testifies indeed more than Sir William, but by no means interferes with him. So likewise when Sir William says it was at Hampton-Court, this is easily reconcil'd, because Mr. Duke speaks diffidently, that it was at Holmby-House, as he remembers, but is not positive but it might be some other Place, as these Expressions plainly denote.

2. The next thing is, that Mr. Duke does not say in express terms, that those Meditations, which the Major saw lying upon the Table several Mornings, and the King correct them; that those were the same that were printed in the King's name. But it is plainly imply'd, for Mr. Duke says, that from the Major's Account to him, he conceiv'd they were originally from the King, and is positive that the Major told him, that he supposed them originally from the King; that is plainly the Meditations in Controversy; for the word originally here can refer to nothing else, but to another Pretender. And the saying that others have drawn a contrary Argument from the King's correcting the Papers, yet farther proves it. So that as Mr. Duke did not, so it is plain that the Major himself did not mean any other Papers, than the original Manuscript of the King's Book, or of some part of it, which he saw lie on the Table, and the King correcting it.

Now the contrary Argument that Mr. Duke says others have drawn from the King's correcting the Papers is, that the Papers he corrected were not his own, but Dr. Gauden's; but that is utterly impossible, and this is as absolute a Confutation of that Pretence as possibly can be: For Major Huntington never saw the King, never was in his presence after he left Hampton-Court, and to be sure, never at the Isle of Wight; and all the Partizans of that Side tell us, that the
King

King never saw Dr. Gauden's Book till the *Treaty at the Isle of Wight*; now the King left *Hampton-Court* the 11th of November 1647. The *Treaty* began September the 13th 1648, which was eleven Months after the King left *Hampton-Court*, and after the Time that Major *Huntington* ever saw him, or was personally conversant with him. From whence nothing in the world can be more plain, than that those Papers, which Major *Huntington* saw, and saw the King correcting, and which were afterwards printed in the *Idem*, were his own Draught, and of his own composing, and could not possibly be Dr. Gauden's, which (if ever the Doctor had made any) the King could not so much as see, till at least eleven Months after.

The Sum therefore is, that the Testimony of Major *Huntington*, as it is represented by Mr. *Duke*, is contradictory to the same represented by Dr. *Walker*, and the Validity of the respective Testimony must depend on the Credit of the respective Witnesses. And how much Dr. *Walker*'s Testimony is to be rely'd on in this Case, I have shewn already, and shall shew it more plainly presently. In the meantime Mr. *Long* confirms this; attesting, that the said Mr. *Duke* declared to him and another judicious Divine, that he heard the Major affirm the same. (Dr. *Walker*'s *Account examin'd*, pag. 37.)

2. The next is the Testimony of Mr. *Cave Beck*, a reverend Minister of *Ipswich* in *Suffolk*, in a Letter to Dr. *Hollingsworth*, in these words: " * Sir, some Years after the King's Trial, Major *Huntington* at *Ipswich* assured me, that so much of the Book as contained his Majesty's Meditations before *Naseby* Fight, was taken in the King's Cabinet; and that Sir *Thomas Fairfax* deliver'd the said Papers unto him, and order'd him to carry them to the King: And the Major affirm'd, that he read them over before he deliver'd them, and that they were the same for Matter and Form, with those Meditations in the printed Book, and that he was much affected with them, and from that time became a Profelyte to the Royal Cause. He also told me, that when he deliver'd them to the King, his Majesty appeared very joyful, and said he esteem'd them more than all the Jewels he had lost in his Cabinet. Also I remember when I waited upon my Lord Viscount *Hercord* into *Holland*, (who was sent by the Parliament, with other Lords, to bring home King *Charles II.*) my Lord sent me to Dr. *Earle* then at the *Hague*, to request his Knowledge, whether the King was Author of that Book; the Doctor told me, as sure as he knew himself to be the Translator of it into Latin, so certain he was King *Charles* was the Author of the Original in English. This Testimony of Mr. *Beck* hath a double Force, and not only gives a full

* Dr. *Holl.* *Character of King Charles I.* pag. 27.

and clear Account of Major *Huntington*, but moreover fortifies the Cause, by the additional Testimony of Dr. *Earle*, who translated this Book into Latin, at the Command of King *Charles II.* and who had the best Opportunities of knowing the Truth, and of consulting the Manuscript under the King's own Hand, in the possession of King *Charles II.*

3. The next I shall mention, is of Sir *Paul Whichcott*, who saith, that he hath often heard his Father Sir *Jeremy Whichcott* tell, that he had the *Einser Basirun* some time in his hands, lent him by Major *Huntington*, and that he transcribed about 17 Chapters, as he would have done the whole, had not the Major been in haste to restore it to the King. This Sir *Paul* attested to the Reverend Dr. *Colebatch*, Canonical Professor of Divinity at *Cambridge*, Aug. 13. 1709. And the Reverend Mr. *Echard*, (the worthy and deservedly celebrated Author of the Ecclesiastical History, and several other excellent Books) some time after at *London* shew'd what Dr. *Colebatch* had written to Sir *Paul Whichcott*, and which he approv'd of without any alteration; and I thankfully own the Favour the said Mr. *Echard* did me, in communicating the same to me. Sir *Paul* is now living, frequently in *London*, and when in the Country, his Seat is at *Qui* near *Cambridge*. And if any Person applies himself to Sir *Paul*, he will be willing to give him Satisfaction. This is indeed a very ample and home Testimony, and irrefragably confirms Major *Huntington's* Testimony; and besides that, is an undeniable Proof of the Authority and Genuineness of the Book it self, for Sir *Jeremy* had it in his custody, read it, and transcrib'd a great part of it.

But besides these, there are several others, that Major *Huntington* related the same to, as in particular to Dr. *Robert Hall*, Son to Bishop *Hall*, to whom the Major was near related by his Marriage, and with whom he sojourned some time at *Clithiden*, the Doctor's Benefice; this the said Dr. *Hall* told to Mr. *Long* and others, attested by Mr. *Long* himself. (Dr. *Walker's Account examin'd*, pag. 37.) The same also Major *Huntington* told to Mr. *Rowney* of *Oxford*, the Major's special Friend and Acquaintance, attested by Dr. *Byrom Eaton*, D.D. and Principal of *Glocester-Hall* in *Oxford*, and which I have now by me, under the Hand of the said Doctor *Eaton*, and in the Presence of Mr. *Thomas Beconsal* B.D. of *Brazen-Nose Col. Oxon.* wherein the Doctor testifies from his late Friend Mr. *Rowney*, Father to the present Member of Parliament of that Name, what he had from the Mouth of Major *Huntington*, That the King solicited him to obtain his Papers taken in his Cabinet at *Naseby* from General *Fairfax*, that the Major undertook it, went in person to the General, and obtain'd them; that in his return he had the Curiosity to read a good part of them, and was highly pleas'd with them; that the King receiv'd them with infinite

infinite Satisfaction and Respect; and that upon the Publishing the Icon, he declared, that he remembred several Passages in the said Papers, and did believe both to be the same, and the King's own Book. This bears date at Oxon, May 12, 1699. And what need I mention any more, except it be to tire the Reader with fruitless Repetitions of the same thing over and over; seeing here is enough in all conscience, to satisfy any reasonable Min, both of the Certainty of the Major's Testimony, and of the horrid Falsity of Dr. Walker's Story, and especially if to this be added:

2. The Testimony it self that Major *Huntington* gave to Sir *William Dugdale*, in these words:

And as to the Eikon Basilike he saith, that after the King was brought to Hampton-Court, his Majesty there acquainting him with the loss of that Book at Naseby-Fight, and desiring him to use his Interest to regain it, he did apply himself to General Fairfax, and by his means obtained it; it being bound up in a white Vellum Cover; and (as he well remembers) all the Chapters in it were written by the hand of Sir Edward Walker, but much corrected, with Interlineations with the King's own hand, the Prayers being all written with the Kings own hand, which, he says, he knew so to be.

This Testimony of Major *Huntington* I first had from a Manuscript then in the possession of Dr. *Turner* late Bishop of *Ely*, which Manuscript contains several Informations given to Sir *William Dugdale*, in order to his composing the *History of the late Troubles in England*, and in which are the Informations of Sir *Thomas Herbert*, Major *Huntington*, Colonel *Cooke*, and Sir *Henry Firebrace*: all which are since printed together, under the Title of *Memoirs of the two last Years of King Charles the First*, published by Mr. *Clavel* 1702. where the Reader, if he please, may easily satisfy himself, that the Citation of it is exact and punctual. Now from all this there are these Two Things, that do plainly result from it.

1. The wretched and intolerable Boldness of Dr. *Walker*, who could invent a Story, father it upon Major *Huntington*, and then affirm it for a Truth, under a most solemn and sacred Averment, *as in the sight of God*. I know it is very hard, to conjecture this of any Man, and much harder yet to express it, especially after he hath been dead, and left to the Great Judge of all the World. But it ought to be considered too, that it is hardest of all, that Men must shut their Eyes, and not be convinc'd by the plainest and clearest Testimonies under the Sun, lest it should reflect upon another Man's Sincerity. At this rate Mankind must always be under an incurable Blindness, if there be in the World three or four Persons, who will outface the Truth, and are wicked enough to back their Lyes with Imprecations. The general Notion and Practice of the World is quite contrary, when they find a Man a

every turn ready with his Appeals and Affeuerations, and throwing them out on all Occasions, they are always apt to suspect that such a Man is not very careful of Truth, who makes so bold with Religion, that Matters are not well which need such kind of Supports; and that, generally speaking, the more false the Thing is, the stronger are the Affeuerations. Now these we have in very many Places in Dr. Walker's Book, there is scarcely any thing so little, but he tacks to it some Appeals or other; and every Wise Man will consider these, only as *Forms of Speech, a Way he had been accustomed to*; and he had got such a Habit of it, that it comes out on all Occasions great or small, true or false. It is a monstrous Challenge, he makes to those who will Answer him, (*pag. 37.*) *I beseech him to Write nothing for the Truth of which he does not make the like Appeals to God, which I have done.* As if the Glorious and Tremendous Name of GOD was fit to be play'd with, to be brought forth to garnish his Sentences, and as Ornaments of Speech. Most Men who have any Sense of Religion, but have a far greater Reverence for the Name of GOD, how bold soever Dr. Walker makes himself with it: And in truth he hath advanc'd to such a degree of Boldness as would make any Man tremble, who well considers it; he hath given the *most solemn Assurances to things that are notoriously False*, as you have heard before: But if there were nothing else, this single Instance before us, gives us demonstrative Evidence of that scandalous Liberty he took to himself of inventing any thing in the world that might make for his own turn, and then *crams it down with Appeals and Affeuerations.* He found this Evidence of Major Huntington's too hard for him, it struck to the Heart of his Cause, and entirely ruin'd it; there was no Fence against it, no Answer to be made to it: And therefore he takes the only way that was left, and knowing that the Major was dead, invents a new Story, fixes it upon the Major, and gives *his own Word and Appeal for the Truth of it*: When at the same time there is not one Word of Truth in it, but all the Product of his own Invention, who it seems scorn'd to have an Objection stand before him, when he had such a Faculty ready at hand, that could supply him with Materials to oppose it. For I appeal to all the World, whether it be possible that Major Huntington should tell this single Story to Dr. Walker, and to him only, who had told the direct contrary to very many others, and every one of them of far better Credit than Dr. Walker by many degrees; and moreover attested the same, and gave it under his Hand in so many Words, to Sir William Dugdale. And whom must we believe, either Major Huntington himself, or *another Major Huntington of Dr. Walker's making*? who hath moulded him into his own Shape, and render'd him as contrary and

and inconsistent with the true Major *Huntington*, as Dr. *Walker* is with himself, or as Mrs. *Gaulen* and Dr. *Walker* are with each other. Major *Huntington*'s own, and the *Timbridge*-Relation, agree like Light and Darkness, there is no manner of Similitude between them. and they are ten times more unlike than the Children of different Parents. For Dr. *Walker*'s Major *Huntington* is quite another thing: He never heard the King complain of the loss of the Book, never apply'd to the General to regain it, never saw any one Passage in it; He was so modest as only to conjecture, or believe, but knew nothing at all of the Matter, nor never said, or declared otherwise: And it was absolutely necessary for Dr. *Walker*, that it should be so; for otherwise this Fancy of Dr. *Gaulen*'s writing the Book, must have sunk to the Ground. But at the same time, we have a sad Evidence of a licentious and shameless Boldness, that Dr. *Walker* could take such a Liberty to invent a formal Story, and Father it upon the Dead, to answer Objections, and serve his own Purposes. I have abundance more to say on this Head, and from very good Testimony too: but Dr. *Walker* is dead, and I spare his Memory, and should be content to have his Faults buried with him.

2. The next thing to be observ'd from hence is, the Truth of the Matter of Fact. That the Book was taken at *Nashby*, and restored to the King at *Hampton-Court*. This Major *Huntington* plainly and expressly asserts; and tho' that of it self is abundantly sufficient to determine it, yet for a farther Confirmation of it, it is to be observ'd, That this Information concerning the *Ann* is not all the Information the Major gave to Sr *William*, but only one Branch among several other considerable Matters, and the whole is a pretty large Relation of many Particulars, in which he himself was personally concern'd, and which pass'd through his own Hands. As for Instance, the King coming from *Holby* to the Army, when *Farfax* and *Gomnell* sent Major *Huntington* to stop him at *Salisbury*, where the General and Officers waited on the King, and afterwards remov'd him to *New-Market*, where *Gomnell* made large professions to the King, and gave him Hopes of his Restoration, and gave way to the Attendance of his Chaplains and other Servants; and afterwards at *Hampton-Court*, he relates the Transactions between the King and Army, and in particular the Correspondence between the King and *Gomnell*, in which Major *Huntington* was a principal Instrument, and a Messenger between them: and in particular he relates *Cromwell*'s Professions to him: that he *swore in his Heart the Rejoicing and Establishing the King, and impurged that neither Himself, his Wife nor Children might ever prosper, if he did not perform it*; and many other such things, in which *Huntington* was

immediately ingaged. And this corroborates the whole Testimony. And a Man may as well say, that he never met the King coming from *Holmby*, that he never was at *Childerley*, *New-Market*, or *Hampton-Court*, as that he did not receive the Book from *Fairfax*, and restore it to the King. For they all stand upon the same Foundation, are all Relations of the same Person, and Branches of the same Testimony.

2. I now come to the second thing propos'd, *viz.* To prove that these Papers were taken at *Naseby*, and afterwards restored, by other Testimony independent of that of Major *Huntington*, and this I shall endeavour to do in these Particulars following.

1. We have a certain and plain Evidence for a Matter of the like Nature, and agreeing in all Circumstances. Sir *Edward Walker* gives this Account of his own History, when in Manuscript: (*pag. 228*) *From the King it came into the hands of the Lord Digby, who designing to polish it, carried it with him, so it was taken at the Battel of Naseby, and fell into the hands of the then Lieutenant-General Cromwell, who discoursing of it at the Surrender of the Devizes, it came to my Knowledge; two Years after this, when his Majesty was at Hampton-Court, I inform'd him where it was; so his Majesty by the means of an Officer of the Army got it, and put it into my Hands, to be Copied, &c.* This gives both Light and Strength to the present Cause, here is a parallel Instance, alike in every thing but the Authors, and no Man can doubt the King's Recovery of his own Manuscript, when he could so easily obtain that of another Man's: Whatever Difficulties and Objections there are against the Returning of the King's Book, they are the very same against Sir *Edward Walker's*; his History was very severe upon that Party, calling them *Rebels*, *Traytors*, *Usurpers*, *treacherous*, *cruel*, *boodihirsty*, *Robbers*, almost in every Leaf; it was in the Hands of *Cromwell*, the most malicious, and basest Enemy the King ever had, and who betray'd him, and was at the same time contriving and laying Snares for his Destruction, when with Vows and Imprecations he promis'd to Restore him: And yet all this notwithstanding, Sir *Edward Walker's* History was *de facto* recover'd out of his Hand, and restor'd to the King, and by the same Means, by the Interposition of an Officer of the Army. And this puts a final End to that ridiculous Objection which is in all their Mouths, and particularly urg'd by Dr. *Walker* and Mr. *Toland*: How came those, who Fought with so much Zeal against the King, and did him all the Mischief they could, and most of them, (except Sir *Thomas Fairfax*) brought him at last to the Block, to be in the mean time so very kind, as to gratify him with the Return of these Papers: For from the time the King came to the Army, to a little before he left *Hampton-Court*, the Grandees of *Cromwell's* Faction, and

and *Cromwell* himself gave him all outward Marks of Esteem and Respect, restor'd him his Chaplains and Servants, and promis'd him every thing within their Power, nay promis'd effectually to Re-establish him; *Cromwell himself would stand by him, if there were but ten Men left to stick to him, and Ireton if but five Men would joyn with him, he would adventure his Life in order to his Redemption*; at that time it was agreeable to the Design they had laid, to gain a Good Opinion of the King; and it had been a Breach upon their own Measures, at that time, and during that interval, to have denied the King his Papers, when they were pretending to do so many greater things for him, and no less than Restoring him to his Throne: had the King been refus'd in these smaller Requests, it must needs have made him jealous and suspicious: But on the contrary, they made use of this as one of their Engines, to create a Confidence in him, that they would not be wanting to make good their Promises, when they were so ready to gratify him in what was in their Power: And there is nothing more certain, than that all that time they did all they could to perswade the King that they were his Friends; whether it was to prevent the Northern Storm that Duke *Hamilton* was then Brewing, that none of the King's Friends and old Soldiers should joyn with the Duke, as Major *Huntington* thinks; or whether to divide the Parliament, and strengthen their Party, (or for what other Reason) 'tis certain there was no Art, Dissimulation, or Hypocrisy wanting, to cajole the King, and to give him Assurance of their Service and Assistance: And what Pretensions the Army at that Season made to the King, and what counterfeit Favours they shew'd to his Person and Party, may be seen fully in *Fairfax's* Letters, one to the *Lords*, and the other to the *Commons*, but both of the same Tenor, dated from *Reading*, July 8. 1647, and recited at large in *Sanderfon's* History, pag. 992. And therefore it can be no Surprize, that during this Interval of Treachery and Perfidiousness, those Hypocrites should shew themselves very forward to restore his Papers, as they were to please him in many other things that they granted to him.

2. I shall produce some positive and direct Evidence, that the King's Manuscript was taken at *Naseby*-Fight, and afterward restor'd, and which have no manner of Relation to Major *Huntington*: And because they are many, I shall divide them under Two Heads: (1.) Those that have been Printed long since, and before this Controversy ever appear'd: and (2.) Those that have appear'd since, together with the Addition of Two Evidences that have not yet been Published to the World.

1. Those that have been printed long since: and I begin with the *Princely Pelican*, printed 1649, where it is expressly affirm'd, that

at Naseby. Upon the Discomfiture of his Majesty's Forces, amongst other rich Prizes, this inestimable Gem, the Continuation of his Divine Meditations, was seiz'd by the Enemy, being inclosed in a Cabinet. That such was the Benignity of the Conqueror, or the Divine Providence rather, it was recovered, and returned to his Majesty's hand, and which infinitely cheer'd him; and in his Margin he notes, *A Rare Civility from the hand of a profess'd Enemy*. The next is the Author of *Exercitium* in Verse, printed also 1649, who, p. 47. says, *There are some in the Army that know it (that it was the King's own Book) to be true enough, and I me hav. have been converted by it, before ever it was publish'd, or the King had never had it again, after it was lost at the Battle of Naseby*. The third is Mr. Sanderfon, in his History of the Life and Reign of King Charles the First, and printed 1658, in pag. 324. says, *This Book whilst in loose Papers, and secur'd in his Cabinet, was seiz'd by the Enemy at Naseby-Fight, but these Papers happily rescued, and so came to his Majesty's hands again, who in the end commended them to his faithful Servant Mr. Simons, with command to see them Imprinted*. Now that which is very observable from these three Authors, is this: That two of them published their Account at least *thirty Years*, the other more than *twenty Years* before Major Huntington's Testimony was talk'd on, or so much as known, except to some of his Friends and Acquaintance, to whom he had mention'd it: For his Information to Sir William Dugdale bears date, *June 1679*, and Sir William was the first who published the Major's Testimony to the World, and that was not till two Years after, 1681. And yet notwithstanding the great distances of the Times, the difference of the Persons, the various Reasons and Occasions for their Relations, they all agree punctually in the Story, that *the Papers were seiz'd at Naseby, and restored*. And if there be any Faith in History, this stands upon as good a Foundation as any Matter of Fact can do. 'Tis impossible there should be any Combination or Collusion, for the respective Persons never knew, perhaps never so much as heard of each other, there could be no transcribing from one another; and there could be no Byass to sway them to any other Man's Opinion; but 'tis plain, that each of them in his own Way gave his own Knowledge of the Case. And if a thing thus attested by unexceptionable Persons, affirm'd in various Ways and Manners, by different Persons, at divers Times and sundry Occasions, and yet all uniting in the very same Story, I say, if this be not sufficient to confirm the Truth of any Matter of Fact, then there is an end of all History, and the Credit of Historical Relations is extirpated out of the World. This to me is such a convincing Argument, that if we had nothing else, this single Testimony, and thus fortified, would invincibly carry the Cause against all that hath hitherto been said on the other Side; and I challenge all the Adversaries to give a fair and clear Answer to it.

2. The next Testimony is that of Dr. *Perincheif*, who wrote the Life of King Charles the First, a Book sufficiently known: and where he says, *That A. B. Uther declared to several Persons of his Acquaintance, that he was employ'd by his Majesty to recover these Papers from the Enemy after the Battel of Naseby. And to this I add that of Dr. Gorge, attested by Bishop Bull in a Letter he sent to Mr. Cornelius, once his Curate, now Rector of Buckfastlough in Devon, dated July 19. 1701. That about the Year 1656, while he was Vicar of St. George's near Brittol, he had frequent conversation with Dr. Gorge a learned Divine, and a Gentleman of a very worthy Family of that Name in Somersetshire, and of Credit answerable to his Quality and Character; who told him, that being Chaplain to King Charles, and in his Army at the fatal Battel of Naseby, he was employ'd after that Defeat by his Majesty to retrieve certain Papers lost in his Cabinet, in which some private Thoughts and Meditations of that good King were set down, the loss of which troubled him more, than all the other Papers of his which fell in o his Enemies hands that Day. It was with some difficulty that they were obtain'd from the Conqueror, but restor'd they were, and Dr. Gorge did most solemnly profess to this Informant, that having an opportunity to peruse them, he found they were the same, as to the Matters preceding that dismal Day, with those printed in Εἰκὼν Βασιλέως. This I have transcrib'd out of Mr. Young's Book intituled, Several Evidences, &c. p. 5. I need say nothing of the Character of Bishop Bull; his learned Writings have rendered him sufficiently Famous both abroad and at home; he is far above my Commendation, and his Reputation is so clear and august, that no Man can question his Relation, but at the same time reproaches himself, and becomes a Scorn to all Learned Men: And therefore I proceed to the next, which is of Dr. *Eales*, a very eminent and learned Physician, and which I have now by me, and drawn up, and subscribed by himself in these Words.*

I Luke Eales of Wellwin in Hartfordshire, do hereby certify, that being at Dinner at the Table of the Right Honourable Edward Earl of Manchester of Kimbolton, some Years before the Restauration of King Charles II. (how many I cannot tell) I heard there a Discourse between his Lordship and three or four Divines of that Times, and in that Neighbourhood, concerning the Book call'd Εἰκὼν Βασιλέως, who asserted (with some warmth) that that Book was not written by King Charles the First, and that he was not able to write it: his Lordship assured them (with some earnestness) that they were all mistaken; for when his Cabinet was taken at Naseby-Fight, and brought to him he found in it in loose Papers, the aforesaid Book written with the King's own Hand, and interlined in several places with the same Hand: and his Lordship did affirm, he knew the King's Hand as well as he did his Own.

And this I am ready to attest upon Oath, if legally called thereunto

unto. In witness hereof I have hereto set my Hand, this 23^d day of May, Anno Dom. 1699.

Luke Eales.

Signed and Attested in the Presence of

Thomas Creech, Rector of Wellwyn.

John Horsfennell, B. D. Fellow of King's College in Cambridge.

Geoffry Gardiner, Rector of Walkern Hertfordshire.

I have yet two other Testimonies by me, that have never yet appear'd in publick; the one of Mr. Jones; the other of Mr. Foster.

1. Mr. Jones, his Father, &c. were all Royalists, tho' nearly related to O. Cromwell, which made Cromwell's Wife say when he and two Brothers were taken in Sir Joseph Wagstaffe's and Penrildock's Rising, and Application was made for Pardon, *What, our own Flesh and Blood against us!* No, they must expect no Favour: However, they had Favour; one of the Brothers after Sentence being banish'd to the East Indies, and the other two never brought to Tryal. This Mr. Jones was Secretary to the first Earl of Gainsborough, when Governour of Portsmouth, and is I believe still in that Family. His Testimony is in these Words:

I John Jones do hereby declare, that within a little while after the Icon Basilike was first published, as I was travelling out of Wiltshire to London, I fell into the company of Mr. Stroud of Somersetshire, who had been a Colonel in the Parliament-Army. We lodg'd together the same Night at Hartford-Bridge, about 30 Miles from London; and while we were at Supper, among other Conversation we discours'd concerning the Book above-mention'd, and I being desirous to hear what he would say, told him there were some People who affirm'd, that it was not the King's. To which he replied, that a Week before he had met Mr. Prynn at Wells, who told him that he did not doubt but it was the King's own Work; because as much of it as was wrote before Naseby-Fight, was taken there, and sent up with the Letters (which the Parliament afterwards Printed) to London, where he by their Order had the Perusal of all the Papers, and then and there saw those Chapters of the Icon Basilike, that were wrote before that time, which he knew to be the same that were afterwards publish'd. This is the Sum of what I heard from Colonel Stroud at that time; which I took the more notice of, because he had been one of the first that took up Arms against the King in that Country. And so this I set my Hand, July 21. 1699.

John Jones.

Signed in the Presence of

George Basmethil, Rector of Achurch.

J. Richardson, B. D.

The next is that of Mr. Foster, a Gentleman now, or lately living at Stamford in Lincolnshire, who gave his Testimony to Mr. Scott late of Little Britain, who at that time was in Rutland, and from Mr. Scott I received it.

I have

I have often been told by my Mother, that she had heard Colonel Oakey declare to her Uncle John Bellamy, then Bookseller in Court-street, (Colonel Oakey and her said Uncle who bred her up, living together in the same Country-House at Hackney) that he saw those Sheets of the Icon Basilice which were taken in King Charles the First's Cabinet with his Letters at Naseby, and observ'd, that they were written and corrected with the King's own Hand; and that she had afterwards frequently heard her said Uncle John Bellamy, upon several occasions affirm, that Colonel Oakey had told him so. Witness my Hand.

Will. Forster.

Stamford, June 27th, 1699.

Three Days after this, *June 30, 1699*, Mr. Forster wrote a Letter to the said Mr. Scott, wherein he says, that he had frequently heard his Mother speak of several Passages and Transactions relating to those Times, as also about this very Point relating to the King's Book, as naming the Person, who Colonel Oakey said took the King's Cabinet, and shew'd him the Papers, but I have forgot their Names, and so I would not offer to mention any such thing in that Testimony. And I would not upon any Account give any thing under my Hand for Truth, which I could not with a good Conscience attest upon Oath: but what I there assert, I am very positive in, as taking more than ordinary Notice of it; and he always understood by his Mother, that both Col. Oakey and her Uncle did really believe that the King was the Author of those Papers. — And then he gives a Character of Mr. Bellamy; That God blessed him with a considerable Estate, and he made no contemptible Figure in the City, being, I think, Colonel in the City Militia. He was a Man of good Sense, and a very zealous Presbyterian, as appears by those two Pamphlets he wrote: the first in Vindication of the *City Remonstrance*, presented to both Houses of Parliament, *May 26. 1646.* and the second in *Justification of that Vindication*, both Printed 1646. and that he and Colonel Oakey lived in a most intimate Friendship and Acquaintance together at Hackney, he delighting much to be there, and always retired thither, as often as his Business in London would permit him.

Here we plainly see Mr. Forster's Tenderness: how very nice and cautious of putting any thing under his Hand, of the Truth of which he was not sufficiently assur'd; and this gives the greater Credit to his Testimony.

Upon the whole, and to sum up this Particular, here is as clear and satisfactory a Proof of this Matter, and more than reasonably could be expected of any Matter of Fact at this Distance of Time. It is now 66 Years since the Battle of Naseby, and this was only one and a private Incident following it, and relates to the Spoil, and one Branch of that Spoil, that came into the hands of the Conqueror:

and yet we have very many particular and concurring Testimonies, and every one of them undeniably proving the same thing: As three very considerable Authors, attesting the loss, and the restoring the Papers, without declaring, or knowing the Means whereby they came to be restor'd: The Earl of *Manchester*, seeing them in his Cabinet, after it was taken, reading them in the King's own Hand, and which he knew as well as his own; Mr. *Prynne* and Colonel *Oakey* reading them themselves in the King's own Hand. The King after the loss of them imploying Archbishop *Usher* and Dr. *Gorge* to endeavour to retrieve them; and at length, Major *Huntington* actually receiving them from General *Fairfax*, and restoring them to the King, and this attested by himself under his own hand, and that Testimony corroborated by five others, who heard the Major declare the same, and every one of them Persons of unspotted Reputation; and in particular, Sir *Jeremy Whickcott* borrowing the Book it self, reading it over, and copying a great part of it. Now this Testimony shines so bright and clear, and carries with it such evident Credentials, so many and perspicuous Marks of Truth, that Men must be under a very strange Prepossession, and bewitch'd with a Spirit of Scepticism and Incredulity, who will not yield their Assent to such uncontestable Proofs. 'Tis hardly possible, that a Matter of Fact can be better and more substantially Attested: And a Man may as well say, that there was never such a Fight in *Naseby-Field*, as that the King's Papers of the *Icon* were not taken there, and after restor'd. And from hence the Conclusion is undeniable, That all Dr. *Gauden's* Pretences, and the Allegations for him, sink into nothing, and plainly appear (what really they are) meer Fictions, Forgeries and Impostures. For according to them, the King never saw Dr. *Gauden's* Book till three Years after; but from hence it evidently appears, that the King had begun this Book a long time before, and had gone through a great Part of it before the Battel at *Naseby*: And whom such flaming Evidences will not convince, they are hardned against all Proofs, and must be left to bewilder themselves under the worst of Tempers, a most incurable and incorrigible Obstinacy.

2. The next Evidence is that of Mr. *Herbert*, afterwards Sir *Thomas Herbert*; who not only saw it, as Sir *William Dugdale* says, but moreover had the original Manuscript given him by the King, and which was wrote by the King's own Hand. This hath never yet appeared publickly to the World, and therefore I shall set it down at large, as it was transmitted to me by the Reverend Mr. *Cudworth* Rector of *Barnbrough* in *Yorkshire*, and attested by several Worthly and Learned Persons, in these Words:

In a Manuscript-Book in *Folio*, of Sir *Thomas Herbert's*, well bound,

bound, fairly written, and consisting of 83 Pages, and by him called *Carolina Threnodia*, having the Picture of King Charles I. in the Front, and beginning thus :

SIR,

" By yours of the 22^d. of *August* last, I find you have received
 " my former Letters of the 1st. and 13th of *May*, 1673. And seeing
 " it is your farther desire I should recollect what I can well remem-
 " ber upon that sad Subject more at large, I am willing to satisfy
 " you therein so far forth as my Memory will assist. Some short Notes
 " of Occurrences I then took, which in this long Interval of Time,
 " and several Removes of my Family, are either lost, or so mislaid as
 " at present I cannot find them, which renders this Narrative not so
 " methodical nor so large as otherwise I should, and probably by
 " you may be expected. Nor would I trouble you much with what
 " any other has writ, but in a Summary-way give you some Court-
 " Passages, which I observed during the two last Years of his
 " Majesty's Life and Reign; being the Time of his Solitudes and
 " Sufferings. ——— In *Pag. 21*. Nevertheless, both times he
 " carefully observed his usual Times set apart for private Devotion,
 " and for Writing. Mr. *Harrington* and Mr. *Herbert* continued
 " waiting on his Majesty, as Grooms in the Bedchamber, he also
 " gave Mr. *Herbert* the Charge of his Books, of which the King had
 " a Catalogue, and from time to time had brought unto him
 " such as he was pleased to call for: The Sacred Scripture was
 " the Book he most delighted in, read often Bishop *Andrew's*
 " Sermons, *Hooker's Ecclesiastical Policy*, Dr. *Hammond's Works*,
 " *Villalpandus* upon *Ezekiel*, *Sandys's* Paraphrase upon King *David's*
 " Psalms, *Herbert's* Divine Poems; and also recreated himself in
 " reading *Godfrey of Bulloign*, writ in *Italian* by *Torquato Tasso*, and
 " done into *English* Heroick Verse by Mr. *Fairfax*. A Poem his
 " Majesty much commended, as he did *Ariosto*, by Sir *John Har-*
 " *rington* a facetious Poet, much esteem'd by Prince *Henry* his
 " Master, *Spencer's* Fairy Queen, and the like, for alleviating his
 " Spirits after serious Studies. And at this Time it was, (as is
 " presumed) he compos'd his Book called *Suspiria Regia*, pub-
 " lished soon after his Death, and intitled, *The King's Portraiture in*
 " *his Solitudes and Sufferings*. Which Manuscript Mr. *Herbert* found
 " among those Books his Majesty was graciously pleas'd to give
 " him, (those excepted which he bequeathed to his Children, here-
 " after mentioned) in regard Mr. *Herbert*, tho' he did not see the
 " King write that Book, his Majesty being always private when he
 " writ, and those his Servants never coming into the Bed-chamber
 " when the King was private, until he call'd, yet comparing

“ it with his Hand-writing in other things, he found it so very
 “ like, as induces his belief that it was his own; having seen much
 “ of the King’s Writings before. And to instance particulars, in
 “ that his Majesty’s Translation of Dr. *Sunderfon* the late Bishop
 “ of *Lincoln’s* Book de *Juramentis* or a like Title, concerning
 “ Oaths; all of it translated into *English*, and writ with his own
 “ Hand, and which in his Bedchamber he was pleased to shew to
 “ his Servants, Mr. *Harrington* and Mr. *Herbert*, and commanding
 “ them to examine it with the Original, they found it accurately
 “ translated.

This is a true Copy taken out of the original Manuscript, and
 compared by Us,

Thomas Vincent Esq.
Thomas Fountaine Esq.
Ra. Eaton, Rector of *Darfield*.
J. Culworth, Rector of
Barmbrough.

Tho. Maulywerter, Rector of
Sprsbrough.
Tho. Burton, Clerk.
Jo. Newsome, Rector of
Warmsworth.

This Manuscript is now in the Hands of the Lady *Herbert* the
 Relict of Sir *Tho. Herbert*, but now married to *Henry Edmonds* Esq;
 living in the Town of *Worsbrough* in *Yorkshire*.

And I can now give a farther Account of this Manuscript of
 Sir *Tho. Herbert*. It was written at the desire of Sir *William Dugdale*,
 and sent to him in form of a Letter, a Transcript of which I have
 now by me, and have carefully compar’d the foregoing Citations, and
 will my self be responsible for the truth of them. And the Reader
 if he please himself may consult it; for it hath been since Printed
 among other Tracts, under a general Title of *Memoirs of the Two*
last Years of King Charles I. and in the Print this is *Page. 43.*

3. The next Evidence is Mr. *Lever*, who besides Sir *William Dugdale*’s
 Testimony, hath himself lately given an Account of his
 Knowledge of this Matter, in a Letter to *Seymour Bonrman* Esq; in
Lincoln’s-Inn Fields. In these Words:

Dear Brother,

“ Yours of the 21st. of this instant *April* I received, and one
 “ Letter before that to the same effect, viz. To give a true Ac-
 “ count of my Knowledge of that unparallel’d Book which his
 “ Sacred Majesty of Blessed Memory King *Charles I.* (Murder’d by
 “ his own Rebellious Subjects before his own Palace at *Whitehall*,
 “ with all the violent and malicious Circumstances that wicked
 “ Men could invent) which Book of my certain Knowledge I can
 “ depose was truly his own, having observed his Majesty oftentimes
 “ writing

“ writing his Royal Repentments of the bold and insolent Behaviour of the Soldiers, (his rebellious Subjects) when they had him in their Custody. I waited on his Majesty a Page of the Bed-Chamber in ordinary, during all the time of his Solitudes, (except when I was forced from him) and especially being nominated by his Majesty to be one of his Servants, among others that should attend him, during the Treaty at *Worms* in the *Isle of Wight*, had the Happiness to read the same oftentimes in Manuscript, under his Majesty's own Hand, being pleased to leave it in the Window in his own Bedchamber, where I was always oblig'd to attend his Majesty's coming thither. But the Treaty being ended in few Days after, the Soldiers with one to conduct them by name Mr. *Anthony Mildmay*, then Cup-bearer, came to the Bedchamber about Two of the Clock in the Night, and knock'd at the door, and one Mr. *Herbert*, Mr. *Kirk*, and my self, having some hint of their Intentions, were watching in an inner Room, and hearing some noise, went into his Majesty's Bedchamber, and asked who they were that durst disturb his Majesty at that unreasonable time of the Night; who answered, they were sent to tell the King he must rise, and go with them. We acquainting his Majesty with their Design, he was pleased to command us to tell them, he would go with them, but it was not his usual hour to rise so soon; we again acquainted the Soldiers with his Majesty's Answer: They instead of complying with his Majesty, bid us tell him, if he did not rise presently, they must force him to it: His Majesty only said, If I must, give me my Cloaths, and so he immediately arose. (Here you may observe a Merroure of Patience in a distressed Prince;) during the time of his Majesty's making himself ready, he concern'd himself only how to secure this Book of his, and a small Cabinet, wherein he secured his Letters to his Queen, who was then beyond the Sea; and his Majesty having procured a Pass for me from the Governour, that I should wait on him there, he gave me in charge this said Book and small Cabinet, which I faithfully presented to his Majesty's own Hands that Night in *Hurst Castle*. But the Governour, by what Information is too tedious to insert here, at this time, and therefore I omit it, did on Saturday banish me out of the Castle.

“ I should have sent you a Relation which I had of *Royston* the King's Printer, for the Printing of the said Book, by his Majesty's special Command, brought to him by a Divine, but not to be
 “ * Printed till after the King's Death, which he observed accordingly;

“ for which Gromwell sent for him to Whitehall, not only promising
 “ Rewards, but also threatening Punishments, if he would not
 “ deny, that he Printed it by his Majesty’s Order; which he re-
 “ fusing to do, did imprison him for about a Fortnight; but seeing
 “ he could not work upon him, released him; which is all at
 “ present from

From Savernack Parke,
 near Markborough,
 Apr. 29. 1691.

Your Affectionate Brother
 to serve you,
 William Levett.

To this Dr. Walker answers (pag. 34.) *There is no such Chapter or Title in all Εἰκὼν Βασιλέως*, meaning, as the *Royal Resentment of the bold and insolent Behaviour of the Soldiers, (his rebellious Subjects.)* Very right, Sir, but there is the Thing; and Mr. Levett did not say that was the Title to any Chapter in that Book, or a Title to what he saw the King write, but the Subject Matter of it; and that it is of more Chapters than one. In the mean time it is very pleasant, when a Man testifies, that he will depose, the Book was the King’s own, for that he had observed the King writing his Royal Resentments, &c. to answer, *There is no such Chapter or Title.* But I pray, Sir, are there in that Book no *Royal Resentments of the insolent Behaviour of the Rebellious Soldiers*? If there be none indeed, then Mr. Levett could not conclude they were part of the Book, tho’ he saw the King write them; but if there be, ’tis extremely ridiculous to say, *there is no such Chapter, or no such Title*; the Force of this Testimony therefore, is not about the Title, but the Thing; and that Mr. Levett could depose, *that the Book was the King’s, and that he read the same in Manuscript under the King’s own Hand.* And what does Dr. Walker say to this? Why truly he says, *I must beg his Pardon, to believe he is mistaken.* And so it seems Mr. Levett’s deposing, and seeing the King write some of it, and reading it under the King’s own Hand, is all confuted; and it neither is, nor can be so, because Dr. Walker begs his Pardon. This is an excellent way of defeating the Force of an Evidence, and taking off the Edge of the Testimony of an Eye-witness; and if this will do, Dr. Walker must needs gain the Cause; for there is no doubt but he will beg the Pardon of all the King’s Witnesses, if he can so easily quit his Hands of them. In the mean time, that Mr. Levett was not mistaken, but delivered his Knowledge of this Matter, we have confirmed by another Testimony of his, and of another Date, in the possession of his Son, Fellow of Exeter College in Oxon. in these Words: * *If any one has a desire to know the true Author of a*

* Dr. Hollingworth’s Character of King Charles, pag. 9.

Book intitled ΕΙΣΩ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ, I, one of the Servants of King Charles the First in his Bedchamber, do declare, when his said Majesty was Prisoner in the Isle of Wight, that I read over the above-mentioned Book (which was long before the said Book was Printed) in his Bed-Chamber, writ with his Majesty's own Hand, with several Interlinings. Moreover his Majesty King Charles the First told me, Sure, Levett, you do design to get this Book by heart; having often seen me reading of it. I can testify also, that Mr. Roylton the Printer told me that he was imprisoned by Oliver Cromwell the Protector, because he would not declare, that King Charles I. was not the Author of the said Book. Signed and Sealed Octob. 16. 1690.

Will. Levett.

And yet farther to confirm this, (if it needed any Confirmation) I have now by me an Attestation of Mr. Levett's Son, Dr. Levett, a very worthy Physician now living in London, and Physician to St. Bartholomew's Hospital, under the Doctor's own Hand, in these following Words: *What I can say in general upon my own Knowledge, is this: I have heard my Father (and can bring several Gentlemen can witness the same) talking of King Charles the First being the Author of ΕΙΣΩ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ, oftentimes say, he had often read some Discourses which are printed in the said Book, writ with the King's own Hand, with several Interlinings and Corrections writ with the same Hand, observ'd the progress and growth of the Book, oftentimes seen the King writing in those Papers, when he was up and down the Bedchamber on waiting. This Testimony therefore of Mr. Levett is not only comprehended in that Letter, and what he affirmed upon that particular Occasion, but what he always asserted, and for many Years together, so often as there was any occasion of mentioning it. Sir Philip Warrick in his Memoirs asserts, That he had been assured from Mr. Levett, (one of the Pages of his Bedchamber, and who was with him through all his Imprisonments) that he hath not only seen the Manuscript of that Book among his Majesty's Papers at the Isle of Wight, but read many of the Chapters himself. And these Memoirs of Sir Philip were wrote many Years since, tho' not printed till about ten or eleven Years ago. And I have a very considerable Testimony to the same purpose, from Mr. Holme, Apothecary to the Charter-house, and which I had from himself, in hæc Verba:*

I John Holme, Apothecary to the Charterhouse for these 32 Years last past, do certify and declare, That giving my Attendance on Mr. Levett a Scholar of the Foundation, who was dangerously ill of a very malignant Small Pox in the Month of May 1683, did then begin my Acquaintance with Mr. Levett the Father of the said Scholar, which Opportunity I was glad of, because I had heard that he was the Gentleman that waited upon King Charles the First in his Troubles; which

Question I asked him, and his Answer was, that he was the Person that waited on his Majesty in his Apartment and Bedchamber, from the beginning to the end of all his Troubles. I then told him, that there was a Reflection, and Scandal cast upon his Majesty's Memory by some ill Men, as if his Majesty was not the Author of the Book called Icon Basilike; to which Mr. Levet answer'd with great Earnestness in the Words following, or Words to the same purport and effect; viz. "Mr. Holmes, this Report is altogether base, false, and scandalous, neither can I imagine, how any Foundation for this Report can be made, ev'n by the basest and wickedest of Men; for that I my self very often saw the King write that which was printed in that Book, and did daily read the Manuscript of his own Hand in many Sheets of Paper; and seldom that I did read it, but Tears came from me; and I do truly believe there is not a Page in that Book, but what I have read under the King's own Hand, before it was printed. And this Saying of Mr. Levet, I John Holme shall be ready to testify upon Oath, when there shall be Occasion.

May 22. 1699.

John Holme.

4. The next Evidence, mention'd by Sir William Dugdale, is Mr. *Koxton*, but I shall leave that, it being more proper to speak to it afterwards, and shall produce such Testimonies as prove the Book to be genuine, and the proper and only Work of King *Charles* the First; and because they are many, and it would be tiresome to the Reader, if they were huddled together, I shall therefore methodize them, and range them under several Heads, and divide them as near as I can, according to the respective Times the Matter of the Evidence relates to. As

I. From the Beginning of the Book, to the King's leaving *Hampton Court*.

II. From that Time, to the King's being hurried from the *Isle of Wight*.

III. Such as have Relation to the Printing of it.

1. From the Beginning, &c. And the First Evidence is the Book call'd the *Princely Pelican*, which gives an Account not only of the first Beginning of it, the Reasons for it, and the Steps by which it proceeded, but ev'n before it began; of the King's Purpose and Intentions of Undertaking it, and the Grounds and Motives that induced him to it: *That understanding what Hazards he ran, how his Royal Intentments were misconstrued*, he withdrew himself, hoping to cure their Jealousies, and calm their Fierceness, by his Absence; but this being aggravated by Incendiaries, as if he had tyrannical Designs, and credulous Ears gave Attention to those unjust Aspersions: *He then thought it high time to vindicate his Honour by his Pen, and observing the odious and scurrilous Libels published*

publish'd against him. These were the first Inducements to take this Glorious Work in hand; and as the same Author represents it in the King's own Words, *to wipe off those Slanders with a Sponge of Truth, to undeceive his People, and to rectify their misguided Judgments.* This is the best, and the earliest Account we have. And this Book (*The Princely Pelican*) was written on purpose (as the Title-Page asserts) *To satisfy the Kingdom, that the King was the Author of this Book.* And the Account the Author gives of himself is this, (*Pag. 1.*) that *He had been a constant Servant to the King, and that he had remained constantly in his Attendance upon his Majesty, to the last Man, that the King was oft-times pleased to communicate his private Counsels and Addresses to him.* And after having given this Account of Himself, he proceeds to give Account of the Book; and in the first place, tells us the very Beginning of the King's Resolutions to undertake it. (*Pag. 4.*) That *He was pleased some few Days after he had retired from his Parliament, to communicate his Thoughts in his Garden at Theobalds, to some of his Gentlemen that were nearest to him, and of whose Intimacy and Abilities he stood most confident; how he had set his Hand to Paper to vindicate his Innocency, in the first place, by shewing the Reasons he had of Receding from the Parliament. And that not so much as one Line had fallen from his Pen, which with Henry he might not confirm.* The Author goes on, *His next Essay, as he told us, he intended should take its Discourse from the faithfullest Servant, and incomparable Statesmen, that any Prince could rely on, meaning the Earl of Strafford; and then gives us the King's particular Discourse, condemning himself for suffering his Hand to touch the Resolution of his Heart, &c.* And particularly recites at large the Discourses of his Attendants on that Subject with his Majesty. He tells us farther. (*Pag. 19.*) that the King told them, *That as his Morning Devotions took up the first, so he ever reserved the next for these Meditations he had now in hand.* The Author yet farther tells us, (*Pag. 21.*) That at Naseby, these Divine Meditations were seized by the Enemy, with other Papers of concern, being inclosed in a Cabinet reserved for that purpose; and that by the Benignity of the Conqueror, or Divine Providence rather, it was recovered above all expectation, and returned to his Majesty's Hand; which infinitely cheered him. And farther. (*Pag. 22.*) That a Person of high Command in that Army, gave this Censure of it, saying, *It was an handsome piece of Hypocrisy.* There are several other observable Passages in this Author, too long to transcribe. And I heartily wish, we could recover the Author's Name. In the mean time, the Testimony which he gives, does to agree with the Thing itself, and to concur in some Particulars, with the other Evidence before-mentioned; particularly the Seizing the King's Book (to much of it as was then done) at Naseby-Fight, and the Recover-
R again

again, and the great Joy the King had on the receiving it : that they plainly corroborate each other, and there can be no possible reason to doubt the Truth and Sincerity of such Evidence, which at divers Times, and upon several Occasions, give the same Testimony, and in the same Circumstances.

2. The next is that of Mrs. *Rhodes*, and her Son Captain *Rhodes*, Mrs. *Rhodes* a grave and serious Gentlewoman ; she did declare to Dr. *Hollingworth*, that her Husband Dr. *Rhodes*, Minister of *Haughston* and *Thorpe* near *Newmarke*, did live in *Newmarke* in the time it was a Garrison while the King was there ; and that the King came often to her House, to discourse her Husband, and that her Husband did conduct the King in a Disguise from *Newmarke* to *Oxford*, and was with him often from that time till his being a Prisoner in the *Ile of Wight*, where he attended him also ; in all which Places he saw those Parts of the King's Book which he then drew up, written with his own Hand ; being so intimate with the King, and so intirely beloved by him, as to be admitted into his Closet and secret Communications, all which her Husband told her as great Truths. And the said Captain declared to me, which he will when lawfully called, testify upon Oath ; That he was in company with Sir *Francis Leake*, and one Major *Millington*, a Sectary, and his Father, when a Discourse arising about this Book, his Father solemnly laid his Hand upon his Breast, and said, *Upon the Word of an honest Man, I have at several Times, and in several Places, seen and read those Papers writ with the King's own Hand.* This is the Account Capt. *Rhodes* and his Mother gave to Dr. *Hollingworth* ; and I can speak to the truth of it my self, having been well acquainted with Mrs. *Rhodes*, and with her Son the Captain, long time before they died : They have declared the same several Times, and to several Persons ; and in particular to the Reverend Mr. *Bunnys*, who married Mrs. *Rhodes*'s Daughter ; Mr. *Bunnys* and his Wife are yet living, and are ready to attest the same. But there is one Particular, and which perhaps was not related to Dr. *Hollingworth* ; and that is, that upon the King's going from *Newmarke*, Dr. *Rhodes* advised the King to have the Hair of his Beard clip'd, for the better Disguise ; upon which, the King took a pair of Scissors out of his Pocket, and with them Mrs. *Rhodes* clipped his Hairs, and when that was done, the King gave her the Scissors, and which she kept to her dying-day, and Mr. *Bunnys* kept them some time after, and had purposed never to part with them, but that his Brother-in-Law Capt. *Rhodes* borrowed them for some Persons, who desired to have a sight of them, and they were never after restored. I relate this only as a Circumstance, but then it is such a Circumstance as gives Credit to the whole Relation. Dr. *Rhodes* was a very worthy

worthy Divine, a faithful Subject to, and a great Sufferer for the King, always hearty in the King's Cause, and oftentimes ventured his Life in his Majesty's Service, and was reciprocally esteem'd and beloved by the King. His Widow Mrs. Rhodes was a very grave, pious, and sober Gentlewoman; and their Son Captain Rhodes was a very honest, worthy Gentleman, and well known in London, and in Virginia, to have been a Gentleman of a very clear Reputation.

2. The next is that of Dr. Dillingham, communicated to Dr. Hollingworth by a Letter from the Doctor's Son Mr. Thomas Dillingham, a worthy Divine of good Reputation. While the King was at Holmby, my Father went from Cambridge to wait upon this Earl of Mountague's Father, who was then with the King there. While the King was at Dinner, one of the Bedchamber showed my Father the King's Closet, wherein was his Library and Papers. While he was there, he that came with him was accidentally called away, when my Father seeing a black Box on the Table, that was lock'd, but not very close, spied a corner of a Paper hanging out, and took the boldness to draw it so far out, as that he could read several Sentences: it was newly written, and in a fair Hand, which he judg'd to be the King's own; and he told me, when he read the King's Book in Print, he found in one Chapter the very same things, word for word (as far as he could remember) with that Manuscript Paper. What Chapter the King was then writing I cannot tell, neither did I ever ask my Father; but if I may conjecture at this distance, I should guess it might be that wherein he complains of being deprived of his Chaplains. For while my Father was there, the Parliament sent down some Chaplains of their own to attend upon him.

3. The next is Sir John Brattle, who assured Dr. Hollingworth, that in the Year 1647, the King having drawn up the most considerable part of this Book; and having writ it in some loose Papers, at several times, desired Bishop Juxon to get some Friend of his, whom he could commend to him as a trusty Person, to look it over, and put it into an exact Method. The Bishop pitch'd upon Sir John's Father, whom he had been acquainted withal for many Years; who, undertaking the Task, was assisted by this his Son, who sat up some Nights with his Father, to put him in Methodizing those Papers, all writ with the King's own Hand (Dr. Hollingworth's Defence, pag. 7.)

It is to be observ'd, that this Testimony of Sir John was published while he was living, and who then, and a long time before enjoy'd a considerable Office in the Army; and that he had afterwards own'd the same to Dr. Hollingworth and others several times. But to this Dr. Walker hath something to say, tho' I think more idle and trifling Stuff never came from a Man of his Degree, or from one much inferiour. As (1.) He begins with a Jest: That when the

Doctor's hand was in at coining Stories, he should have recourse to the Royal Mint, to borrow a more Authentick Stamp: For what else can an Office there add to a Testimony of a Matter of Fact? Very sagaciously observ'd! And which shews how much Dr. Walker was given to Fooling, instead of Answering; and rather than say nothing, he feeds his Reader with childish and impertinent Tricks. The Office did not add to the Testimony, nor was it mention'd for that purpose; but it did what was very fit to be done, it gave a particular Designation of the Person who gave that Testimony: And for all Dr. Walker's Jest, it is what ought not to have been omitted; that any Person who had a mind to it, or doubted the truth of it, might by a particular Indication of his Office, know how and where to apply to him for Satisfaction. And tho' it does not add to the Testimony, it shews the Fairness of the Proceeding. Suppose it should be said, Dr. Walker Minister of Aldermanbury: Would it not be a wise Answer, and tend much to the weakening his Testimony, to say, What has Aldermanbury to do to add to a Testimony of Matter of Fact? We are like to have wise Reasons from a Man who trifles at this rate.

2. His next Answer is, *May it not be possible, that in more than 40 Years there may be some Mistake of other Papers for these, or some other Lapse of Memory?* Or, *Was Sir John, who may then be young, so well acquainted with the King's Hand, as to be able to make a crucial Judgment of it, and with Assurance to distinguish it from the Writings of other Men?* Now this is all over ridiculous. For what difficulty is there in conceiving, that a Gentleman of 19 Years of Age, (as Dr. Hollingworth assures us Sir John was at that time) might remember at 40 Years distance, and especially a Matter of such Importance. But this is ten times more ridiculous, coming from Dr. Walker, who pretends himself to have remembered more than 40 Years, a Hundred Circumstances relating to this Book. And why, I wonder! might not Dr. Walker mistake other Papers of Dr. Gauden's, for these, as well as Sir John Brattle, mistake others for these of the King? Or what Reason can be given, why Dr. Walker might not lye under some Lapse of Memory, as well as Sir John? And it is certain, that Sir John was every way as well qualified for Memory as Dr. Walker, being of a competent Age, and when the Memory is generally the strongest; and being also very fit for Business, otherwise his Father would not have made use of his Help in such an Affair, that required a competent Understanding, as well as Diligence and Care. But it seems, with Dr. Walker, if it concerns the King's Papers, 'tis wonderfully difficult, hardly possible, to remember for 40 Years; but if it concerns Dr. Gauden's, then there is nothing in the world more easy. And 'tis certain, that if there be

be any Force in this sort of Reasoning, 'tis directly against him; and what he offers against Sir *John Brattle's* Testimony, destroys his own. And this is *Argumentum ad Hominem*, and stands in Force against him; for his Arguments are against Himself, and he remains convicted out of his own Mouth.

And as for Sir *John's* knowing the *King's Hand*, there is no difficulty in that, for the King's Hand was known to vast Numbers in *England*, and particularly since his Troubles, when he had wrote with his own Hand several Messages to the Parliament and the City, and several Letters to private Persons; and there is no manner of Improbability, but Sir *John's* Father and Sir *John* himself might have seen several things under the King's own Hand, and especially considering their Intimacy with Bishop *Juxon*, who must needs have had by him very many Orders, Directions and Letters written by the King himself. But this is only a peevish and impertinent Objection, and nothing at all to the purpose. For by what Means soever Sir *John* came to know the King's Hand, it is sufficient that he did know it, and that he hath attested it. And the final Resolution of the Case depends not upon Quirks, and asking impertinent and dark Questions, but upon plain Matter of Fact: And that is sufficiently determin'd by a direct Averment, That Sir *John* assisted at the Methodizing the Papers of this Book, and that *they were written with the King's own Hand*.

3. Dr. *Walker* intimates, *That it was never so much as heard, that the King and Bishop Juxon saw each other after his Majesty was driven from Westminster by the Tumults, till he was brought to St. James's, Jan. 19. 1648.* Now 'tis impossible for me to know what Dr. *Walker* had heard, or what he had a mind to hear: but there is nothing more certain, than that Bishop *Juxon* was very often with the King before that time: for Sir *Philip Warwick* in his Memoirs, (p. 95.) says of Bishop *Juxon*, that when the King was admitted to any Treaty with the two Houses Commissioners, (as he was at *Hampton-Court*.) he always commanded his Attendance on him, and he was one of those whom the King desired, and whom the Parliament granted, to attend the King at the Treaty in the *Isle of Wight*; and this he might have satisfied himself of, if he had looked over any one of the Histories of that Treaty. And Sir *Thomas Herbert* tells us, that the King shewed his Translation of Bishop *Sanderfon de Juremendis* to Dr. *Juxon* Bishop of *London*, and others his Chaplains, at such time as they waited upon him at *Newport in the Isle of Wight during the Treaty.* (*Herbert's Memoirs*, pag. 44.)

4. Dr. *Walker* asks, "Why another? rather than the Bishop himself, who more trusty? Or was he too good? or above such Service? Or was he too busy, when he was wholly out of Im-
ployment

" ployment, and enjoyed more Quiet than others? Or less fit and
 " able, when the Book consists of Policy and Piety; and who
 " fitter Judge of the first, than one who had been a Privy Counsellor,
 " and Lord High Treasurer of *England*; and for the second, one
 " on whom the King relied as much or more than any Man, for
 " the Conduct of his Conscience, as appear'd by his singling him
 " out upon his last Preparations. (*Dr. Walker's Account,*
pag. 19, 20.) " Now all these are Reasons fetch'd from the Clouds,
 a company of airy Conjectures, which have no manner of Founda-
 tion. For (1.) As to the Matter it self, the Business was only
 Methodizing the Papers, putting them into good Order, to see that
 the loose Sheets were each of them put in their proper places, and
 to agree with what went before, or came after; to distinguish the
 several Chapters, and place every thing under its proper Head, and
 according to the subject Matter it treated of: And the Qualifications
 for such an Employment, were only Faithfulness and Diligence, and
 a competent proportion of Understanding: It required indeed,
 a tolerable Judgment, and a great deal of Pains and Care; but
 there was no such need of extraordinary Faculties, and political
 Skill, to put them into the best Method, but a Person far inferior
 to a *Privy Counsellor* might have sufficient Abilities to manage it,
 and to perform it to the King's Satisfaction. And (2.) There is no
 doubt but the Bishop was neither *too Good*, nor *too Great*, nor yet
 any way unwilling to have undertaken that, or any other Service
 the King should have put upon him: But 'tis probable enough,
 that the King at that time had other Business for him, and could not
 spare him to sequester himself, and attend upon the Methodizing
 those Papers, which any other trusty Person might do as well. It
 was a time of very extraordinary Business: The King had Three
 great Parties to deal with: The *Parliament* of one Side, the
Army of the other, and the *Scots* of a third, besides many particular
 and private Occasions; and there is no doubt, but that the King
 and all his Privy Counsellors (who were then about him) had their
 Hands full enough. And notwithstanding *Dr. Walker's* Pretence,
 of the Bishop *being out of all Employment, and enjoying an undisturbed*
privacy, while the King was at *Hampton-Court*, and during the
Treaty at the Isle of Wight, he had *Employment enough in the King's*
Service, and sufficient for the whole Man. And there can be no
 reason to think, that the King should put him upon this, (which
 any Man else might do) and thereby take him off from his imme-
 diate Attendance, and divert him from Services of the greatest
 Concern to the King, and which directly belong'd to his *Post of a Privy*
Counsellor; and especially too, when he had not then many about
 him he could so well confide in; and ev'n for that very Reason
 that

that Dr. Walker mentions, that *he was the least disturb'd of any of the King's Party*, and had therefore the greater Liberty to attend the King, to convey Messages, and to communicate the King's Purposes. Upon all which Accounts his Presence was the more *necessary and useful to the King*; and his Majesty had less reason to part with him, or to put him upon any other Affair, which other Persons were well enough qualified to perform. This is Answer enough to all Dr. Walker's imaginary Suggestions. But if his Reasons be good here, they conclude against himself; and by the very same we may easily prove, that Dr. Gauden was not the Author of this Book. As for Instance, (1.) Dr. Walker makes it one Reason why the Bishop himself should Methodize it, because it consists of *Policy, and Who a fitter Judge, than he who had so long been a Privy Counsellor, and Lord High Treasurer of England?* Now if it required so much Political Knowledge to Methodize it only, how much more must it require to Make it? If a *Privy Counsellor and Lord Treasurer* be the fittest Judge to put in Order the Politick Part of that Book only, of what Political Qualifications and Endowments must he then be who was the Author of the whole? And then what becomes of Dr. Gauden's Pretences? He was *neither Privy Counsellor nor Lord High Treasurer*, nor in any Post to enable him to understand the Politick Affairs of the King and Nation. And can there be any thing in the World more ridiculous, than to talk of a *Privy Counsellor and Lord Treasurer*, as the fittest Judge to Methodize it, and at the same time to say that Dr. Gauden was the Author? This is so very foolish, that it exposes it self; and the very naming it, puts it out of Countenance,

2. Next Dr. Walker tells us, *The King had no more trusty Friend than the Bishop, he was not too good or great for the Service, he was not too busie, but had leisure to attend it; none more fit and able, &c.* Now if these are good Arguments, to prove that the King did not desire Bishop Juxon to get some trusty Friend, and that Bishop Juxon did not deliver the Papers to Sir John Brantles's Father. Then Dr. Walker's Story about taking Dr. Gauden's Papers, and carrying them to be Printed, is all false by his own Confession. He tells us he carried them to one Peacock, in order to send them to the Press: And why so, I pray? And here comes in his own Question, *Why another, rather than himself?* Had Dr. Gauden a Friend more trusty than Dr. Walker? Was he *too good or great for such Service*, as looking after the Press, and Correcting the Sheets? Was he too busie, who was only a Chaplain at Warwick-House? Was he less fit and able, than another private Man: was he not rather far more fit, as having the Supports of a very powerful Family in those Times, and also was intimately acquainted with the whole Secret from

from the Beginning? And therefore to conclude as Dr. Walker does, in his very Words, only changing the Name; *And why must Dr. Walker desire another Man to do that Work, for which (had there been any such Work to be done) he himself was the fittest Man alive, for Fidelity, for Ability, for Inclination to his Master's Service, and for Vacancy and Leisure?* And if these sort of Arguments be good against Bishop *Juxon* and Sir *John Brattle*, that such Papers were never deliver'd to Sir *John's* Father, then they are as good against himself; and 'tis certain he never receiv'd those Papers from Dr. *Gauten*, and never deliver'd them to *Peacock*. And this is another *Argumentum ad Hominem*; and tho' such kind of Arguments are good for nothing in themselves, yet they conclude strongly against the Persons who use them; for no Man can refuse his own Reasonings, and what they bring against their Adversaries, sticks close to them, and pierces deep, when it is turned upon themselves.

But here is an Objection, which although none of the Partizans of that side have taken any notice of, yet I conceive it deserves to be answer'd, and more than any Objection they have yet made; and that is, that Major *Huntington* in his Testimony, says, that it was bound up in a *white Vellam Cover*, and by that it should seem to be sufficiently methodiz'd already, at least so far as it went, and less need therefore of such pains as Sir *John Brattle* mentions, to put in order the remainder. But to this I answer, 1. It is pretty plain that the *binding it up* was no act of the King's, for it is plain by most of the Evidences, that the King wrote it in loose Papers, as is express'd particularly in the Lord *Manchester's* Testimony, that it was brought to him *in loose Papers*. The binding it up in Vellam was therefore done by the Enemy, either order'd by the General, or the Secretaries of War, or perhaps by the Committee of Parliament, to whom they were sent, that they might be secur'd much safer, being compacted, than loose Papers. And it is plain by Sir *Jeremy Whiccomb*, that they were altogether, and in some order, when he borrowed it of Major *Huntington*, because he copy'd 17 Chapters. 2. There is no doubt, but that after taking them at *Naseby*, the King at his leisure time, set about it again, and wrote some, at least of the Chapters as he could recollect in his Memory, and this is clearly testified by Mr. *Young*, (several Evidences, p. 22.) that a Gentleman of great Age, and no less Fame at home and abroad for his many Learned Writings, whom he had not Liberty to name, but he told him in the presence of Dr. *Mandar*, Fellow of the Colledge of Physicians, and dwelling in *St. Martins Lane* near *Leicester-Fields*, that while he attended the King in the Civil Wars, he had an Opportunity to peruse part of that Chapter in the R. Icon on the Queens department, &c. newly written by the King, he saw the King writing on the Paper, and a jud-

den occasion calling him from it, gave him opportunity to read what his Majesty was writing, and this happen'd soon after the Defeat at Naseby. 'Tis therefore evident that the King was again running it over, as far as his Memory would serve, and therefore when it was return'd to him, and bound up, it was taken to pieces, and put again into loose Sheets, and this made the methodizing it yet more difficult, because the new Papers the King had drawn up by Memory, were to be diligently and carefully compared with the former, to avoid Tautologies, to see that the Additions were inserted in their proper places, and the Expressions and Sentences, coherent and consistent; for 'tis impossible but there must be many Variations between what he had wrote first, and what the second time, by meer stress of Memory, so that this rather confirms, than any way impairs Sir John Bratiles's Testimony; for the Pains of Methodizing must needs be a great deal more, when besides all the Chapters of New Subjects, all the Chapters that had been twice written on the Old, were to be revis'd and compared, and put into proper Order. And it is very probable, that soon after the King had receiv'd the Papers from Major Huntington, he transmitted them, together with those others he had recollected, and added, to Sir John's Father. For Sir John attests expressly that it was 1647. that they were deliver'd by Bishop Fuxon to his Father. And the King left Hampton-Court in the Year 1647, in the Month of November; and when they had been thus methodized, and return'd to the King, then when he was made Prisoner in Carisbrook-Castle, he first began to transcribe them into a Book, and fit them for the Press; and he had then and there Leisure enough, and too much; for he was barbarously used, and closely confined for many Months, and no living Soul suffer'd to come near him. And Sir Philip Warwick tells us in his *Memoirs*, (pag. 329.) that at the Treaty at Newport the King call'd to him, and shew'd him out of the Window, an old little crumpling Man in the Street, and askt Sir Philip whether he knew him? and when he had answer'd, he never saw him before; the King replied, *I shew him you, because that was the best Companion I had for three Months together in Carisbrook-Castle, where he made my Fires.* It is no wonder therefore, that he should transcribe so many Copies of this Book with his own Hand; for his cruel Enemies had given him Leisure enough; and by such a strait Confinement, and not permitting any Person to come at him, they had left him nothing else to do; and it was one way of Alleviating those Melancholy Hours, which the British Malice of the Rebels had lain him under, to Transcribe his own Royal Meditations, and to receive that Comfort, by the Reflection of his own Pious Thoughts, which their black and deadly Hatred did all they could to deprive him of; he could review his own

Pourtraiture, and read the true Image of his own Soul, and which would give him Joy and Satisfaction, in spite of all the Furies and Scorpions wherewith they daily encompass'd and torment-ed him.

II. I now come to the second Branch of the Evidence in Point of Time, relative to the King's being in the *Isle of Wight*, until he was hurried thence in order to his Murder.

1. And the first is of Mr. *Anthony Mildmay*, (the same I presume who waited upon the King at *Hampton-Court* and the *Isle of Wight*) who during the Time of *Oliver's* Usurpation, about 1653 or 1654, coming to Mr. *Ambrose Mildmay* of *Much-Baddow* in *Essex*, and there discursing of the *Icon Basiliæ*, Mr. *Anthony Mildmay* said, *He thought he could give good Satisfaction concerning it, because when he waited on the King in the Isle of Wight, he observ'd his Majesty very often make use of a Bible which he then had, and being afterward displaced, he presumed to take his leave of his Majesty; Mildmay, (says the King) I thank you for your Kindness to me, and I would willingly give thee something whereby to remember me, and having but the Bible, I desire thee to accept it, and think of me, which I received from his own Hands; and afterwards reading it, and more especially in the Book of Psalms, I found a great many Verses mark'd with a Pen, concluding it was his Majesty's own doing, I compar'd those mark'd Verses with his Majesty's Meditations in the Icon, and they did exactly agree: I have the Bible to shew, and can give any Man Satisfaction.*

2. Mr. *Hearne*, formerly *Amanuensis* to Sir *Philip Warwick*, who gives this Testimony: *I Robert Hearne, formerly Servant to Sir Philip Warwick, do attest, that I have often heard my said Master, Sir Philip Warwick, as likewise Mr. Odart, and Mr. Whitaker declare, that they had transcribed Copies of the late King Charles the First's own Copy of his Book entituled ELEXOR BACMAN, written with his said Majesty's own Hand. Witness my Hand* Robert Hearne.

In the Presence of Phil. Mist, Fra. Shipton.

3. The Testimony of Capt. *Wade*, affirm'd by Dr. *Fowler* the present Lord Bishop of *Glocester*. "He had an old Puritan Aunt, who used to tell him of a Relation of hers called Captain *Wade*, one of those who guarded the King in the *Isle of Wight*. This Man observing the King to spend a considerable time every Day in Writing, had the curiosity to see what it was that he wrote, and took his opportunity several times while the King was taking his Walk, to read over the Papers, which he found afterwards to be *Icon Basiliæ*. He coming to visit the Bishop's Aunt, she giving him the Title of Captain; No, replies he, no more Captain; for he had thrown up his Commission, resolving to serve the
" Party

" Party no longer; being sure that so good, and so pious a Prince, who employ'd his time as the King did, could never be guilty of the horrid Crimes they had laid to his Charge." I need say nothing to enforce this, or to create a Belief in the Reader, because no Man will doubt it, if he is satisfied that the Bishop of *Gloucester* did declare it: and that being the only Question, any Person may soon inform himself, and upon application to him, I am assured his Lordship will give him Satisfaction.

4. Another Testimony relating to the same Time and Place, is as follows: " *Robert Gun*, Servant to Serjeant *Brown*, afterwards Judge of the *Common Pleas*, when the King came in, told *Major Mordaunt*, that one Day some Company being at his Master's House, and discoursing of the King's Book, they desired it to be his, for they said he was incapable to write such a Book: to whom the Serjeant with some concern replied, Incapable! I know he was capable. I know him very well; upon which, they ask'd how he could be so positive of it? Whereupon, after much Importunity he told them that the King when he was in the *Iron-High* was a very early Riser, and yet sat up late in the Nights, and they wondering what he did, they diligently search'd his Chamber, after he was walked out one Morning, and in searching, one lifted up the Hangings, there they found pin'd up, Sheet by Sheet, within the Hangings, next the Wall, many Sheets of this Book, written with the King's Hand.

Compton, near Stotford,
July 26. 1699.

John Mordaunt, An. Et. 70.

This Testimony I have now by me, under *Major Mordaunt* his own Hand, who at the same time declared, that he had told this to Hundreds, and was ready to witness to the Truth of it upon Oath.

5. The next is of Colonel *Hammond*, who kept the King Prisoner in *Carisbrook-Castle*. And the first Account that we have of this, is from Dr. *Perenchief*, in the Life of King *Charles the First*: who says, That the *Regicides* were very much disturb'd at the Publication of the King's Book, and being unable to suppress it, they hired *Malton* to answer and expose it, and employ'd others to deny his being the Author: but *Hammond*, who had been his Faylor at *Carisbrook*, and one of his Judges at *Westminster*, confess'd to several Persons, that he had seen it in the King's hand, heard him read it, and seen him write part of it. And to confirm this, I have now by me two several Evidences, attesting the same thing of Col. *Hammond*. The first is thus: That *Lieutenant-General Ireton* coming from the Siege of *Limerick*, after the Death of King *Charles the First*, in company with Col. *Ludlow*, Col. *Hammond*, and several other Officers of the then Army, at Dinner in the

Town of Cathal in the County of Tipperary, a Discourse happening concerning the said King Charles, Iudh took occasion to express himself to this purpose: Do you see how these poor Fellows the Cavaliers, when they cannot serve their Master any other way, they put out a Book in his Name, as if he were the Author of it, which they call ΕΙΧΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ, but God knows, he had neither Piety nor Parts to write such a Book as that is; Col. Hammond presently replied upon him, Nay Col. according to the old English Proverb, Give the Devil his due, part of that Book, if not the whole, was writ when he was my Prisoner in Carisbrook-Castle, where I am sure he had nothing but a Bible, Pen, Ink and Paper, and going to call him out of his Closet to Dinner, which I always did, I found him still a writing, and staying behind to see what he writ, the Paper being still wet with Ink. I read at several times most of that Book which now bears that Title.

Capt. *Adam Molinæux* was then at the Table, and hath often related the same thing; and this comes to me from Capt. *Phillips*, who married Capt. *Molinæux's* Daughter, and hath often heard this from his Father-in-Law; and besides seen it under his own Hand, and will depose it, if there be Occasion. And his Lady, Capt. *Molinæux's* Daughter hath oft heard her Father discourse as above, and will give her Oath, not only that she had heard it from him, but hath seen it attested under his own Hand.

The Second is of *John Wight Esq;* who when living, dwelt at the Seat of his Family call'd *Katherine-Hill*, near *Guildford*, and he was Recorder of that Town. This was found under his Hand, and the Original is now in the possession of Mr. *Whitfield*.

And this is an exact Copy, compar'd and transcrib'd by my self. Soon after King Charles the First was Beheaded, Lieutenant-General Hammond, the same Hammond who was the King's Keeper at Carisbrook-Castle, living at Byfleet in the County of Surrey, at a Publick Meeting of divers Justices of the Peace of that County, at the Red Lion at Guildford, upon a Discourse which happened among them, concerning the Icon Basilike, whether the King was really the Author of that Book, the said Hammond did then say and declare to this Effect: Nay, I must do him the right to say, that the Book was undoubtedly his; for the Order I had for the Viewing and Searching his Papers, I found amongst them many Sheets of the rough Draught of that Book in his own Hand-writing, which I have at this time by me. This I heard the said Hammond declare, and am ready to attest it upon Oath, if requir'd.

John Wight.

I shall not need to make any Observations upon these Testimonies, they are all full and express, and each of them sufficient to determine the Cause, and which confound utterly all the Pretences of other Pretenders, and undeniably prove, that That Glo-
rious

rious Martyr was the true and sole Author of that most admirable and inimitable Book.

But I have yet Four other Testimonies, which because I do not know to what particular Time they may be ascrib'd, I add them here; and they are such, as ought not to be omitted.

The First of O. Cromwell himself, and this is attested by Mr. Henry Margetts; that *He well remembred, that Mr. Robert Sparham of Tunstall in the County of Suffolk had often told him, that he being with his Relation the Lady Winwood, Oliver Cromwell came in, and taking in his hand a Book lying on the Table, which was ΕΙΣΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ, he said, Madam, I see you have got Charles Stewart's Book: to which she replied, My Lord, do you believe the late King to be the Author of it? to which he replied, Yes most certainly, for he was the greatest Hypocrite in the World.* This Testimony is under Mr. Margetts's own Hand, and bears Date, June 25: 1693. and is now in the hands of the right Worshipful Dr. Charles Goodall, the President of the College of Physicians London; and I crave leave to make this publick Acknowledgment, for his great Zeal and Industry in this Cause in general, and for his particular Favours to me, in communicating to me with great Generosity and Freedom, all the Evidences which he had collected together, with great Care and Industry; and in particular, I must own my Obligations to him, for imparting Dr. Walker's Testimony, Mr. Bealen's, Mr. Quick's Translation of Monsieur Tefard's Letter, and some others: and which I own with all due Thankfulness, and in as publick a manner as I can, and as the nature of such Civilities do very well deserve.

2. The next Evidence is the Author of a Book, the Title of which is ΕΙΣΩΝ ὁ ΠΙΣΤΗ, written in Answer to a scurrilous Pamphlet against the King's Book, intituled ΕΙΣΩΝ ΔΑΝΣΙΝ, and printed 1649. The Author was certainly a Person of Worth and Learning, tho' we are forced to remain in the dark as to his Name, and the Danger of those Times hath buried the Names of many very well deserving Men in Oblivion; tho' we have the Happiness to enjoy and reap the Fruits of their Labours. In the fourth Page of that Book the Author hath these Words: *The Author might have informed himself of divers who have seen the Original Copy, manuscripted by the King himself, he might have seen it himself for asking; he might have heard Thousands, who would have taken their Oaths upon it, and Thousands who would have justified it with their Lives; he might have observed, as much as all the World observed, That it was the King's own: by the Sovereign Stile, which was inimitable; which was as easy to be known from other Stiles, as was his Face from other Mens; it being impossible that either Face or Stile could counterfeit the Majesty of either. — And afterwards: I take it to be the King's Book; I am sure of it, I knew*
his

his Hand, I have seen the Manuscript, I have heard him own it. These are plain and express, and if the Author was known, I doubt not but his Person would give Value to his Testimony, for his Writings plainly shew him a great Man, and of excellent Qualifications.

3. The next is the Testimony of Mr. *Rushworth*, who is well known to have been acquainted with all the Intrigues and Designs of that Party, and especially of the Army: he was Secretary of War, and the Penman of most of their Letters, Messages, and Declarations; attended the General in all his Progresses and Battels, and particularly at the Battel at *Naseby*, and had as much Opportunity as any Man amongst them, of knowing the true State of this Book; and any Man who knows what Figure Mr. *Rushworth* bore amongst them, will think his Testimony to be of Value in this Case: For in all his many Collections, he always carries a Bias on that Side, with great Favour to the Rebels; and little respect, and less Justice to the King or his Party. And yet this Man, who knew more than many thousands of them, and was as backward to give Honour and Right to the King as most of them, yet he makes no manner of Scruple to own the King for the Author: And in his Collections, (*Part 3. vol. 1. pag. 403.*) speaking of the *Irish Rebellion*, he thus expresses himself, *I shall here add his Majesty's own Words concerning this Matter, as I find them in Icon Basilike*; and not only so, but reasons upon the Case, and pretends to give the Original and Progress of that Rebellion, and what Influence it had upon the Affairs of *England*, from the King's own Observations, and accordingly he quotes most of that Chapter of the *Icon* intituled, *Upon the Rebellion and Troubles in Ireland*; and just before that particular Quotation, says, *His Majesty thus expresses himself*. And this is a full and clear Instance of Mr. *Rushworth's* Opinion in this Case; and considering the Man, and the Post he then had under Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, is an Evidence next to that of the General himself.

4. To this I shall add an Original Letter of the King's, wrote with his own Hand, and which I have now in my hands, bearing Date, *Thursday Night, August 31. 1648*. It is directed to a Person under the Figures 48, and subscribed 39. by which last Figure the King always meant Himself; and by the former, the Person he wrote to: as appears plainly in a great Number of Letters that I have now by me, and wrote by the King to the same Person. The Letter it self is as follows, *verbatim*.

48,
 " This inclosed to N, is chiefly to have an Account from her of
 " those Papers that I left with her this Day; and because I know she
 " has desired your Assistance therein, I pray you to take care to
 " Point

“ Point them well, and be sure to put the Interlinings in their right
 “ Places. 39.

Now this indeed is no direct Proof, because it is not mention'd in the Letter what Papers these were; but it is very probable that they were these, because it does not appear, that the King at that time had any thing else that he designed to Publish, and there was good reason for the retarding them; for the Treaty began 18 Days after; and 'tis very probable, that the King would see the Success of that Treaty, before he would expose them to the Eye of the Nation. For it is very plain, that they were then ready for the Press; because as soon as the Treaty was over, or rather before it was quite over, the King sent to Mr. *Royston* in *October*, to *prepare all things ready for the Printing some Papers which he purposed shortly to send him*: I say, before the Treaty was fully concluded; yet so as the King could easily see what the End of it would be; and therefore as he then took Resolutions to Print it, so it is certain that it was ready before. Because the incessant Business of the Treaty could give him neither Leisure nor Time to proceed with it, or add much to it; and we find the subject Matter of the Book ends before that Treaty began; altho' it may be very probable, that so long as he kept it in his own hands he might be Polishing it, and adding some Interlinings, till he sent it away altogether for the Press.

And this brings me to the Third and last Branch, (*viz.*)

3. Those Testimonies that have Relation to the Printing of it, And the first I shall name, is as it were a middling Testimony betwixt both, and connects the Times together; having respect as well to the Impression, as to the *Ile of Wight*. And it is the Testimony of a worthy Gentlewoman, Mrs. *Fotherley* of *Rickmansworth* in *Hartfordshire*, Daughter of Sir *Ralph Whitfield*, and Granddaughter to Sir *Henry Spelman*, and wrote from her own Mouth, and communicated to me by a very worthy Divine, the Reverend Mr. *Bell*, and who himself wrote it down from his own dictating, in these very Words: “ She saith, that she being Daughter to Sir “ *Ralph Whitfield*, first Serjeant at Law to King *Charles I.* and then “ unmarried, was in the Room with the Lady *Whitfield* her Mother, some few Days before the King was brought to Trial, “ when one Mr. *Francis Boyton* a *Norfolk* Gentleman, (who had a “ Place in the *Pipe-Office*) discoursing with her concerning the “ King, said to her, Madam, the King has wrote such a Book as “ never was wrote in the World; we labour all we can to get it “ Printed, but I am afraid we shall not be able to do it; for could “ it be Published and made known to the World, I am confident “ the People would rise, and never suffer him to be Tried. I and “ others

“ others, have labour’d Night and Day, but cannot yet effect it.
 “ She farther saith, that she hath often heard Colonel *James Proger*,
 “ who was Governor of *Abergavenny* in that King’s Time, say, that
 “ Mr. *Reading* an Enemy of the King, who by the Order of
 “ Parliament attended him in the Place of some of his Servants
 “ whom they had dismiss’d, did tell Col. *Proger* and others, that
 “ he did admire the King for his wonderful Parts, and that he had
 “ often seen him writing several Parts of the *Icon Basilike*, and when
 “ he was tired with writing he would sit down, or walk about the
 “ Room, and dictate to him whom he desired to write for him:
 “ and he added, that such Expressions fell from him, and with so
 “ much ease and readines, that (to use his own Words) it made
 “ his *Har Stand on end in Admiration, to hear him.*” I need
 observe nothing from this Testimony, only that Mr. *Reading* was
 Page of the Back-Stairs to the King, when he was Prisoner at
Christbrook, and the same Mr. *Reading* who let in Colonel *Hammond*
 into the King’s Bedchamber, to give him Opportunity to search
 the King’s Scrutore for Letters and Papers. (*Herbert’s Me-*
moirs. pag. 79.)

2. The next is that of Mr. *Roylston*, whose Evidence contains very
 material Circumstances: (*viz.*)

“ That the *October* before, the King sent a Message to him, to pre-
 “ pare all things ready for the Printing some Papers, which he
 “ purposed shortly after to convey to him, and which was this very
 “ Copy, brought the twenty-third of *December* next following.
 This is very near to a direct Evidence; and the King’s sending to
 him to prepare himself, and this Book being sent to him according-
 ly, is a plain Proof that these were the Papers the King designed to
 send him, and the King had Intentions of Printing them in *Octo-*
ber, (if not in *August*; as is intimated in the King’s own Letter
 before mentioned, bearing Date, *Aug. 31. 1648.*) which it seems,
 according to Dr. *Walker* and Mrs. *Gauden* was before he had seen
 them, or heard any thing of them. I shall not need to add any
 more to this, but this Testimony of Mr. *Roylston* is corroborated by
 two others, as Mr. *Thomas Milbourn*, Printer by *Jewin-Street*, who told
 Dr. *Hollingworth* before sufficient Witnesses: * “ That in the Year
 “ 1648 he was an Apprentice to Mr. *John Grisman* a Printer, when
 “ Mr. *Simmons*, by Mr. *Roylston*, sent the King’s Book to be Printed,
 “ and that his Master did Print it. That Mr. *Simons* always had
 “ the Name of sending it to the Press, and that it came to them as
 “ from the King, and they understood it no otherwise; that they
 “ had Printed several other things with C. R. to them, and that
 “ it looked to them like the same Hand, and the same sort of Paper

* Dr. *Hollingworth’s* Defence of King *Charles I. pag. 12, 13, 14.*

“ with others that were so Marked, and looked upon as the King’s Papers; for the King kept the Original by him, and Mr. Odart the Secretary transcrib’d them.” To the same purpose Mr. Clifford, Reader of Prayers at *Serjeants-Inn* in *Fleet-Street*, who assisted Mr. Millbourn in the Printing it; and who says, that He was an *Actuary* in several things Published by King Charles; particularly, the Letters between him and Mr. Alexander Henderson; that there was a Man of known Fidelity, Mr. Simmons by Name, Chaplain to the then Prince of Wales, who was employed by the King to take Care of his Book, because he had writ the *Vindication of the King* so well. That the King inticuled his Book the *Royal Plea*, but Dr. Jeremiah Taylor coming accidentally to Mr. Roylton’s Shop, he having an assured Confidence in him, showed him the first Proof from the Press, which when the Doctor viewed under that Title, he told him the Title would betray the Book. That Dr. Taylor wrote to the King, to let him know it would be in Danger of suppressing by two Informers, Cheltenham and Jones, who would understand the Book by the Title. And therefore he thought *Εὐδοκία Βασιλειῶν* would be a better Title, and less taken notice of by the Informers, being Greek, and agreeing with the Title of his Father’s Book, called *Βασιλειῶν Δόγμα*; and to which the King consented. That the King order’d Mr. Odart Secretary to Sir Edward Nicholas to Transcribe it, and by the Copy of Mr. Odart’s, Mr. Milbourn and himself did Print the said Book: after the Printing of which, a great part was seiz’d in Mr. Simmons’s Lodgings; and he, tho’ in a *Shepherd’s Habit*, was so far discover’d, as that he was pursu’d into Gr at Carter-Lane by the Rebels, where he took Refuge; and the bloody Villains beat two Pistol at him, which frighted him up Stairs, and out of the *Chamber-Window* he made his Escape over the Houses. And he farther says, That he never heard, nay, that he is sure, that Dr. Gauden was not concern’d in that Book by which Milbourn and himself Printed it, and that they had no part of the Copy from Dr. Walker, for it was then transcrib’d by Mr. Odart: they Printed it by.

3. The next is Mr. Simmons. This is agreed on all hands, Dr. Walker and Mrs. Gauden, as well as the Partizans of King Charles, all agree, that he corrected the Sheets from the Press, and had the Honour also of conveying it to the Press; tho’ Dr. Walker says nothing of that in his *Printed Relation*, but supposes it in his *last Testimony*. Now certainly Mr. Simmons’s Testimony must be of great weight in this Cause, and we have as clear an Evidence as can possibly be had when a Man is dead. His Wife attests, that it was written with the King’s own Hand; and that he himself affirm’d it upon his Death-Bed; of this Mrs. Sparke (the Wife of Mr. Simmons formerly) hath given four or five several Testimonies, and to several Persons, and all to the same effect: one of them is in the *Defence*, another in Dr. Hollingworth, another in Mr. Young, and another in the

Custody of Dr. Goodall, all which I have seen, and all peremptorily affirming the same thing. This also Mr. *Simmons* attested to his old Friends at *Exeter*, when he sent them some of the King's Books after they were Printed, that he Printed them from the King's own Copy, and at his Command.

This is attested by Mr. *Young*, who hath seen several of those Books which Mr. *Simmons* sent, and had heard divers of the Inhabitants of that Loyal Corporation affirm it: And it is to be observ'd, that none of those Books which Mr. *Simons* sent had any of the Prayers. (*Several Evidences*, pag. 17.) The very same Mr. *Simmons* affirm'd to Mr. *Burdett* of *Shrewell* in *Essex*, as appears by a Letter sent from a Son of the said Mr. *Burdett*, to Dr. *Goodall*, who wrote it from his Father's own Mouth, in which are these Expressions. *I have discours'd my Father upon what he did know, or could remember, concerning King Charles's being the Author of that Book written in his Solitudes and Sufferings, all that my Father can say is: That in the time of the Civil Wars, he being in France with Sir William Sidley and his Mother, at Paris, they came acquainted with Mr. Simmons, who being forced to fly for his Loyalty into France, where my Father and the foresaid Company found him; and the Lady Sidley entertain'd him for her Chaplain, and was with them two Years or longer: but about half a Year before the King was beheaded, all the Family returned with Mr. Simons, and who then changed his Name, and immediately after the King's Death Mr. Simmons brought three of the Books to present my Father with, and did assure him, that he had Printed them from the Original Copy, which he had by him, written all with the King's own Hand, which the said Simons was very well acquainted with, having been much with the King in his Troubles.* Here we have as fair and full an Evidence, as can be expected after the Person himself is dead; his own Wife and several of his intimate Friends attesting from his own Mouth, that the King was the Author, and that the Copy he Printed it by, was Written with the King's own Hand. And is it not wonderfully strange and surprizing, that the Adverse Party, who have been so hot in pursuit of another Pretender, that they cannot produce one single Word from the Person who was immediately concern'd in the Impression, in Favour of their Assertions; nor yet from any other in the whole World; and there is nothing offer'd, but their own bare Words: When at the same time, all Persons who were any way concern'd about it, declare the direct contrary. This is of very great Force, and will plainly appear so to every Man, who will give himself time to consider it. And especially if to this be added, and which is a farther Confirmation of these Testimonies concerning Mr. *Simmons*. But because it is so very considerable, and relates to several other Matters, it deserves an Article by it self; and that is,

4. The Testimony of Dr. *Hooker*, and which I my self, together with Dr. *Goodall*, took from his own Mouth; and which I have now by me, attested and subscribed with his own Hand.

“*Edward Hooker* testifieth, that he was Corrector to Mr. *Dugard*’s Press, when Mr. *Simons* brought the Copy of *Icon Basilike* to advise with him how to get it Printed, that Mr. *Dugard* (having bought Mr. *Young*’s Press) undertook it, and it was accordingly Printed off at Mr. *Dugard*’s Press, with the Correction of the said *Hooker*. That Mr. *Simmons* affirm’d to the said Mr. *Dugard* and Mr. *Hooker*, that the Copy was written with the King’s own Hand, and deliver’d to Mr. *Simmons* by the King himself, who took it from under his Blue-watchet Waistcoat, where the King in time of his Confinement had upon occasion us’d to preserve it. That the said Mr. *Simons* having publish’d a Book called *Undivulgate Canoli*, the King was pleas’d to thank him; telling him, that Book was all the Requital he could make him, and bidding him use it to his best Advantage. The said Mr. *Simmons* also told them, that the Frontispiece or Emblem was drawn by the King’s own Hand, who could Paint well, and delighted in Painting. That the following Motto’s, *COELI SPECTO, CHRISTI TRACTO, MUNDI CALCO, BEATAM ET ÆTERNAM, ASPERAM ANIMAE, SPLENDIDAM AT GRAVEM, GLORIA GRATIA, IN VERBO TUO SPES MEA, VANITAS*: This was the King’s own Draught, and wrote with his own Pencil. As for the Draught at the Back of the King, and these Motto’s, *Clarior è Tenebris, Immota Triumphans, Crescit sub Pondere Virtus*. These were added by Mr. *Edward Hooker* Corrector, and *William Marshall* Graver, saying, We will have it, the King being so bare, he having nothing at his Back; therefore we will have it well delineated and engraved.

“The said Mr. *Hooker* farther testifieth, that Mr. *Dugard* having thus Printed the Book, and it coming to be known, he was thrown into Prison, and turn’d out of *Marchant-Taylor*’s School; and Mr. *Hooker* to save himself, went to travel for several Years, and had during his Travels, by several Letters, an Account given him by Mr. *Dugard* what he had suffer’d in this Service; in which Letters he remembers the following Expressions: *They have dealt with me worse than the Devil did with Job, having taken all from me, yet left me all my Children*: and that the said Mr. *Dugard* acquainted him in the said Letters, *That his Wife made Application to President Bradshaw for his Release, who told her, that he might come out: he would take Advice of a Friend of his, and then he need not lie in Prison; and accordingly Mr. Milton was sent to him, who offer’d him his Liberty, if he would do what he would have him; who refused his Proposals, saying, God’s Will be done, tho’ I be undone.* But, said he,

" how my Wife and they juggle together, I know not; but I shall get out,
 " and when I am, I will write to my dear Hooker, and follow your
 " Christian Advice, to be a free Prisoner in the interior: And
 " Mr. Hooker does believe, that Mr. Dugard's Wife printed *Pamela's*
 " Prayer, taken out of Sir *Philip Sidney's Arcadia*, with the Altera-
 " tions made in it, as one of the Conditions of her Husband's Re-
 " lease out of Prison. Witness my Hand, Nov. 25. 1669.

Isa Tefter, Edw. Hooker, Peruser of the Royal Original.

This is a very considerable Evidence upon many Accounts; as
 (1.) It mightily confirms and strengthens those Evidences before,
 concerning Mr. *Simons*. (2.) The Circumstance of the *Blue-watcher*
Wastcoat, from under which the King took it, and deliver'd it to Mr.
Simons, may be thus confirm'd; that the same *Blue-watcher Wastcoat* of
 the King's is yet in being, and was some Years since to my knowledge
 in the possession of the late Bishop of *Ely* Dr. *Turner*, but in whose
 Hands it is since his Death I cannot tell. (3.) It appears from
 hence, that this Book was Printed at several Presses; and it is
 hardly possible it should be otherwise, because there were such great
 Numbers printed and published, and of different Volumes, ev'n
 before the King's Death, and within a little time after: And
 in Mr. *Keble's* Account, there are no less than 17 Impressions in 1648.
 But it is probable that Mr. *Simmons* only took Care of the first Im-
 pressions; and there is plain Evidence, that Mr. *Royton* and Mr. *Du-*
gurd had their respective Copies from Mr. *Simmons*; but there is this
 difference between the Copies, that that Copy by which Mr. *Royton*
 printed it, as Mr. *Milbourn* and Mr. *Clifford* testify, was a Tran-
 script only, and copied by Mr. *Odart*; but that by which Mr. *Du-*
gurd printed it, was written with the King's own Hand. (4.) There
 is a very particular Account of the *Frontispiece* and *Motto's*, that
 they were drawn by the King himself, and wrote with his own
 Pencil; which sufficiently and irrefragably proves the King to be
 the Author. And (5.) Here is an Account of Mr. *Dugard's* Imprisonment,
 and Sufferings for the Printing of it, and of *Milton's* tempe-
 ring with him and his Wife, to act some villainous and base things
 in order to his Release, and one of which Dr. *Hooker* believes might
 be the inserting *Pamela's* Prayer.

These are some of the Evidences which proves King *Charles* the
 First to be the sole Author of this Book, and which, I conceive, are
 so plain, full and clear, that it is impossible to avoid the Force of
 them, or without great obstinacy, not to be convinced by them.
 For, I think, there is very little need to bestow much Pains in com-
 paring the Evidence on both Sides, and to shew which preponde-
 rates, and ought to determine us in a Matter of this Nature. On
 the one Side we have but one single Evidence (if we have that)

to the direct Matter, and that is the Person himself about whom is the Controversy, and him also under the presumption of Advantage and Interest. And on the other Side, we have several creditable unexceptionable and disinterested Witnesses, who neither had, nor could have any Personal Advantage from the Evidence they give. On the one Side we have two Witnesses giving their Testimony by Hearsay and Report, that they heard the pretended Author say so, &c. on the other we have far more for Weight and Number, declaring their proper Knowledge of the Matter of Fact. On the one Side neither of the two Witnesses come home to the direct Matter, or positively assert they saw Dr. *Garden* write it, or dictate it, or saw it in his own Hand-writing, or any Amendments, Corrections, or Interlinings made by him, or any thing like it. But on the other, the direct contrary; some attesting they saw the King writing some part of it; others saw it in his own Hand-writing, which they knew; together with Interlinings and Corrections by the same hand, and one that he had the Original Manuscript in his own possession, and given him by the King. On the one Side we have one of the two Witnesses contradicting himself, and both contradicting each other in very important parts of their Evidence. On the other all agreeing, not only in the main Fact, but in several Circumstances, and in all the material Branches of their respective Testimony. And now, if Evidence must carry it (and I know no reason to the contrary) it is plain, that all the Advantage is on the King's Side; and there is no manner of Comparison between them. And sure 'tis very easy to judge on which Side the Right lies, when plain, positive, direct and unexceptionable Proof, is opposed only by intangled, indirect, contradictory Evidence, and full of Inconsistency.

And for a Conclusion to this Part, I hope it will not be uneasy, nor unfruitful to the Reader, to sum up the whole Evidence that hath appear'd for King *Charles*, and to give him at once a full and intire View of the Case, so far as it relates to external Testimony, and by seeing them all together, he will much easier judge of what Weight their united Force and Strength is, to prove and confirm a Cause of this nature. First then we have the *Princely Pelican*, giving an Account of the early Intentions of the King before he put Pen to Paper, and also of the first Steps and Linaments, and of the gradual Proceeding of the King during his writing of it, and in the Progress he made with it. Next, Dr. *Rhodes* reading part of it in the King's Hand, in his Progress from *Newark*: After that, the taking so much of the Book as was then written, at the unfortunate Battel at *Nashby*, and lying in the Conqueror's hands for more than two Years; and during that Interval, the Earl of *Manchester*, Mr. *Brym* and *Oakey* read it in the King's own Hand; and Dr. *Dillingham* at *Holtenby*
read

read one Chapter of it fresh written by the King himself. That the King imploy'd Dr. Gorge and A. B. *Usher* to recover it out of the Hands of the Rebels, and that at length Major *Huntington* obtain'd it from *Fairfax*, and restor'd it to the King at *Hampton-Court*; that in the interim, after the Major receiv'd it, and before he restor'd it, Sir *Jeremy Whicheott* borrowed it of the Major, read it over, and transcrib'd about 17 Chapters. That in 1647 Sir *John Brattle's* Father and himself methodiz'd the loose Papers, all wrote with the King's own Hand. That Mr. *Levet* saw the King several times write part of it, read it often, and had the Care of it in his own Custody, and deliver'd it to the King at *Hurst Castle*. That Mr. *Anthony Mildmay* had a Bible given him by the King, where several Parts of Scripture, especially the Psalms, were mark'd by the King, and comparing these mark'd Places with the *Icon*, were the same that were there us'd in that Book. That Capt. *Wade* in the *Isle of Wight* saw part of the Book, of the King's own Writing: Serjeant *Brown* saw it in loose Papers, pinn'd up behind the Hangings in *Carisbrook-Castle*. * Colonel *Hammond* saw the King writing some of it, which he read, and moreover had some of the Sheets in rough-draught under the King's Hand in his own possession, after the King's Murder. Mr. *Reading* saw the King writing it, and wrote some of it, the King himself dictating to him. *Oliver Cromwell* own'd it to be his; and the Author of *Eixen ii Puzh* had seen it in the King's Hand, and heard him own it. After this, Mr. *Royston* had an Order from the King to Print it, and had the Book it self sent from the King, *Decemb. 23. 1648*, and actually Printed it according to that Order. That Mr. *Milbourn* and Mr. *Clifford* assisted at the Printing of it, and that the Copy they printed it by, was written by Mr. *Odart*; and Mr. *Herne* attests, that Mr. *Odart* and others took Copies of it. That Mr. *Dugard* also printed it, but the Copy by which he printed it was wrote with the King's own Hand. That Mr. *Simmons*, who conveyed both these Copies

* I crave leave to add an Observation which ought to have been inserted before, but was forgot, That all the Testimonies which relate to *Carisbrook-Castle*, are a direct and irrefragable Confutation of all the Pretences for Dr. Gauden; for they all say that the King never saw his Book till the Treaty at the *Isle of Wight*. Now this Treaty was held at *Newport*, and the King left *Carisbrook*, and took up his Lodgings at *Newport* some time before the Treaty began, and never return'd to *Carisbrook* afterwards; but was seiz'd by the Soldiers at *Newport*, and from thence immediately hurried to *Hurst-Castle*; from whence there is nothing more evident, than that those Parts of the R. *Icon* which were seen at *Carisbrook*, were the King's own, and not Dr. Gauden's; because if the Doctor had ever wrote any thing, the King, by their own Account, never so much as saw it, nor was it carried to the *Isle of Wight*, till after the King had left *Carisbrook-Castle*.

pies to the Press, and Corrected the Proof-Sheets, affirm'd the Book to be the King's; and the Copy by which Mr. *Dugard* printed it, to be writ by the King's own Hand. That Dr. *Hosker*, who corrected this Book at *Dugard's* Press, attests, that Mr. *Simmons* receiv'd it from the King himself, taking it from under his *Blue-wool'd Waistcoat*; and that the *Frontispiece* and *Motto's* were drawn by the King, and wrote by his own Pencil. That Sir *Tho. Herbert* had one of the Copies wrote with the King's own Hand, and left him as a Legacy by the King; and finally, that King *Charles II.* had another, and which he shew'd to Mr. *Wood* at *Breda*. Now if, *Out of the Mouth of Two or Three* (agreeing) *Witnesses, every Truth shall be established* how clear must that Truth be, which is established and confirm'd out of the Mouths of more than *Two Juries* of Witnesses: Here are no fewer than 28, and 25 of them directly to the Matter, and the other very strong and cogent Corroborations. And I believe there was never any Writing in the World (except those of *Moses*, the *Prophets* and the *Apostles*) which hath so many and so clear Evidences of its True Author: And especially considering the dangerous and rebellious Times wherein it was first Published, when the Royal party were decimated, plunder'd, imprison'd, murder'd, and banish'd; and Men durst not speak their Minds freely, but were forced to keep their Knowledge and Sentiments to themselves for the space of 12 Years together, after the first Appearance of it in the World; and yet it pleas'd God, that there is yet preserv'd a better and more satisfactory Proof of the Genuineness of the Book, and its True Author, than of any other *Human Writing* whatsoever in the whole World. Now it is a Ruled Case, always true, always infallible; That when any Matter hath all the Evidence that the nature of the thing is capable of, if Men are not thereby convinc'd, and submit to such Evidence, Truth does not at all suffer, but stands in its proper Light; but is only an Argument of their own Perverseness and Obstinacy. The Case before us is Matter of Fact, the proper Proof is Testimony; and here we have Testimony upon Testimony, A great Number of Unexceptionable Persons, of undoubted Credit, who have averr'd and attested their own Knowledge of the Matter, and all of them unanimously concurring in the same thing. And if, after all, some Men resolve not to be satisfied, 'tis not for want of Evidence and Proof, but from invincible Obstacles within themselves, they are harden'd against Reason and Argument, and the clearest Evidence makes no Impression, nay such Qualifications are out of the reach of God's own usual Methods of Conviction. *Contumacie nullum Remedium passit Deus*, God himself hath given no Remedy for Contumacy and Stubbornness.

I have now done with the first Thing propos'd, the *External Evi-*

Evidence, proving the King to be the Author, and proceed to the next, (*viz.*)

2. The *Intrinsic Evidence*, which arises from the Book it self: and if all the Testimony for King *Charles's* being the Author were set aside, this would be abundantly sufficient to determine the Matter, and would far over-balance all that has been said in behalf of Dr. *Gauden*, and ten times as much more. The truth is, the Book discovers its own Author and there is not a Line nor a Sentence, but plainly own's the King's Hand, and as plainly confutes all the Pretences for Dr. *Gauden*. But this is a copious Argument, and to manage it fully, would require a larger Book than that in Controversy. And therefore I shall confine my self, and speak briefly to these Particulars.

I. The General Stile.

II. The Historical Part of it.

III. Some Particulars of the Subject Matter of it.

1. The General Stile: By this I do not only mean the Phrase and Expression, but, together with that, the Manner of Management; and to this I add, the great Weight of the Matter: All these are very Great and Majestick, not only like a King, but like that very King to whom they are ascribed; and let any Man compare this Book with the other Works of this glorious Martyr, and he cannot but see the same generous and free Expression, the same Clearness of Reason, the same Greatness of Mind, in short, the same Majesty throughout. But for the Works of Dr. *Gauden*, there is nothing in the World more unlike; a luscious Stile, stuffed with gawdy Metaphors, and Fancy, far more Expression than Matter, a sort of noisy and Romantic Eloquence. These are the Ornaments of Dr. *Gauden's* Writings, and differ as much from the Gravity and Majesty of the King's Book, as Tawdriness does from a Genteel and Accomplish'd Dress. The Truth is, of all the Authors of that Age, there are scarcely any whose Writings were more light and thin, than those of Dr. *Gauden*; and let any Man compare the best of Dr. *Gauden's* Writings with this Book, and do it with Judgment and Discretion, and I dare say, he will be perfectly cured, and he can no more believe, that Dr. *Gauden* was the Author of it, than he can believe, that the King's Picture at *Whitehall*, and that upon a Sign-Post, were both drawn by the same Hand. I know Dr. *Walker* talks fine things of a Man's *changing his Stile, and differing from Himself*, (pag. 25.) But when all the Pieces put out in a Man's own Name, shall be loose, forc'd, stiff, and elaborate; and one single one put out in the Name of another, incomparably great and excellent. This is such a Change, as I believe, no Man is capable of, and no Man can give Account for. The Force of this therefore does

not lie only in the Difference of Stile and Expression, but in that total Disparity that is between them in every thing; for tho' a Man may vary his Stile, (which yet *Dr. Gauden*, by the several Subjects he hath writ on, hath given no reason to think that he had a Talent that way) yet he cannot be Master of better and finer Thoughts when he pleases; or if he could, to be sure, we should see something of them, or at least something like them in the Works that wear his Name, and by which he design'd to communicate himself to the present Age, and his Memory to Posterity. Let a Man therefore who hath any Understanding in these things, compare this admirable Book, with the genuine Works of *Dr. Gauden*, his *Sermons*, his *Speech* in the *Lords House* against the *Quakers* and his other Tracts; and then let him believe they have all the same Author, if he can. This is so clear and convincing, that nothing ought, nothing can defeat it, but the most plain and invincible Proofs. He that says, that *Dr. Gauden* is the Author of the King's Book, lies only under this one Disadvantage, that he says what is *incredible* in the nature of things, and according to the common Rules of Judging. And if ever he expects to convince reasonable Men, he must produce such Evidence, so clear, full, and without Exception, and of such undoubted Veracity, and Authority, as Men may resign up their Judgments and Reasons to the Testimony. In short, there was in that Age, and in the Reign of that Pious Prince, many Great and Learned Men in all Faculties, and (without any Disparagement to him, or to his Memory) in all respects far superior to *Dr. Gauden*. And yet I believe, any Man who will carefully, and with attention, peruse this Book, and impartially judge, when he hath done, he will conclude, that no Subject the King had was able to write this Book, and none less qualified for it than *Dr. Gauden*.

2. The Historical Part of it.

And here I shall not need to observe, that this excellent Book contains the most remarkable Passages of State, from 1641 to the middle of 1648, and that not only the outward Shell, or the meer Facts, but the secret Springs by which they were moved; here we have the Rise and Growth of the several Factions, the Steps that they made, the Intrigues they managed, with most wise and judicious Remarks upon them; which plainly denote the Author to be an excellent *Statesman*, of a clear and penetrating Judgment, and well vers'd in the Affairs he wrote on; especially if we add those Matters personally relating to the King; which (considering his various Fortunes and Removes, and particularly after *Nashby* Fight, and his Removal to the *Scots*, and from thence to *Holmby*) I question whether any one single Man in *England* could have given,

not only such an Account, but any clear Account at all. The Mystery of his Going to the *Scots*, is plainly laid open in that Chapter, of *his Leaving Oxford*, and *Going to the Scots*, wherein are his Majesty's Reasons for so doing. And in the next Chapter are as plainly insinuated the Proposals that were made to him of *Sacrilege*, and the Attempts made upon him, to *gain his Consent against his Conscience*, &c. The Truth is, all the *Meditations* are weav'd into a Form of Devotion, and so they do admirably express the Piety and Goodness of the *Compiler*: But they are withal Historical, and give the best Account of the *Mystery of Iniquity* that then reigned, together with a more exact Judgment concerning the several Particulars, than is yet extant in any other Book. All which do very well agree with the Character of King *Charles the First*. But how to reconcile them to Dr. *Gauden's* Character, is (I think) an insuperable Difficulty. For as to his Faculty at *History*, and how judicious a Compiler he was, we have (as far as I know) but one single Instance, and that is the Life of Mr. *Hooker* wrote by him, and prefix'd to one Edition of the *Ecclesiastical Policy*, and which (to say no more) is certainly the most in judicious History of a Man's Life that ever was written. There are so many palpable Mistakes and Falshoods, so very little to any purpose of History, so lean, jejune and empty Account of the Man, whose Life he undertook, that it plainly betrays a Defect in every necessary Qualification of an Historian; and it is written without Care, or Diligence, or Judgment. But I had rather leave this to the Readers own Eyes, than extend it farther; and if he please to compare this Book and that Life together, let him judge for himself, and if after that, he can possibly believe they have one and the same Author, he is abandoned to the utmost degree of *Ea-siness* and *Credulity*, and may believe any thing in the World.

3. Some Particulars of the Subject Matter. And these I shall mention, are such things as could only be known to the King himself, and consequently could have no Author but him.

As, I. His Secret Intentions.

II. The Matters of his own Conscience.

1. His Secret Intentions: These are expressed all over the Book; I shall only select two or three Passages, which contain not only his Secret Intentions, but his Appeals to Heaven for the Truth of them. In the Chapter, *On the Insolency of the Tumults*, ——— God, who is my sole Judge, is my Witness in Heaven, that I never had any thoughts of going from White-Hall, if I cou'd have had but any reasonable fair Quarter. And in that Chapter, *Upon his Retirement from Westminster*, I may in the Truth and Uprightness of my Heart, protest before God and Men, that I never wilfully opposed or denied any thing that was in a fair way, &c. And again, in the Prayer; *Thou knowest,*

O Lord, how unwilling I was to desert that Place in which thou hast set me, and whereto the Affairs of my Kingdom at present did call me. And, Upon the Lifting and Raising of Armies; God knows, I had not so much as any hopes of an Army in my thoughts. And, Upon the Troubles in Ireland; If I have desired, or delighted in the woful Days of my Kingdom's Calamities, if I have not earnestly studied, and faithfully endeavoured the preventing and composing of these Bloody Distractions, then let thy Hand be against me, and my Father's House. And many others of the like nature; and which, I think, I shall not need to make any Remarks upon, only desire the Reader to tell me, whether he thinks these are the Expressions of King Charles, or of Dr. Gauden, or whether he can believe that Dr. Gauden durst make such Appeals and Imprecations upon Fictions and Forgeries? If he does believe that Dr. Gauden durst do this, I am certain he can believe nothing that Dr. Gauden asserts; nor can he believe Dr. Gauden if he should appeal to Heaven, and imprecate the Divine Vengeance concerning the Truth of his being the Author of this Book. For he that can appeal and imprecate upon one Forgery, may do so upon a hundred.

2. The next thing I have to observe, is a Matter relating to the King's Conscience, and of a high nature. 'Tis in the Case of the Earl of Strafford, where the King plainly charges himself, as guilty of his Blood, by giving his Consent to that Bill which took away his Life. In that Chapter, *Upon the Earl of Strafford's Death*, the King saith, *He preferred the outward Peace of his Kingdom, before that inward exactness of Conscience before God.* And adds, *I am so far from excusing or denying that Compliance on my part (for plenary Consent it was not) to his Destruction, whom, in my Judgment, I thought not by any clear Law, Guilty of Death; that I never love any Touch of Conscience with greater Regret, &c.* And again; *It is a sad Exchange, to wound a Man's own Conscience, thereby to save State-Serents.* And speaks of his own Guilt, in this manner; *Being in my Soul so fully conscious, that Judgment, God hath pleased to send upon me are to much the more welcome, as a Means (I hope) which his Mercy hath lent to me, as to make me repent of that unjust Act, (for so it was to me.)* And the King adds; that, *Nothing more tormented his Resolutions against all those Importunities to gain his Consent to Acts so criminal. Conscience was unsatisfied, that the sharp Torment he had for what passed thus in my Lord Strafford's Person.* Further yet, the King saith: *That he was better assured of his Guiltiness, than any Man living could be.* Again; *This Tenderness and Regret I felt in my Soul, for having had my Hand (and that unwillingly, God knows) in shedding one Man's Blood unjustly.* And in the Prayer, are these Expressions: *But thou, O God of infinite Mercies, forgive me that Act of sinful Compliance, which hath greater Aggravations upon me, than any Man* ——— *Deliver me*
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from Blood-guiltiness, O God! ——— Against thee have I sinned ——— For thou sawest the Contradiction between my Heart and my Hand ——— While I was persuaded by shedding one Man's Blood to prevent After-Trouble, thou hast set for that, among other Sins, brought upon me, and upon my Kingdoms, great, long, and heavy Troubles. And now would I ask any Man living, whether he thinks these are the Expressions of Dr. Gauden? Whether Dr. Gauden did, or possibly could know the inward State of the King's Conscience? Or if he did, whether he would in this manner, publickly, and in Print, have charged the King in downright Terms with acting against his Conscience, and in the Case of Blood? Or finally, whether any Man, besides the King himself, would, or indeed could have aggravated his Guilt in such a manner? That he was better assured of my Lord of Strafford's Guiltlessness than any Man living could be. That, His sinful Compliance had greater Aggravations upon him than any Man. That, the Calamities upon him and upon his Kingdom, were upon the score of that, among other Sins? These are evidently the Breathings of a sincere, and generous Repentance, and plainly shew that the King was not ashamed to give Glory to God, by a frank and open Confession of his Faults, with all their aggravating Circumstances. But my Business is not to vindicate the King's Virtue and Piety, which does not need it, but to shew that he was the Author of this Book: And which these Expressions do very convincingly, and beyond Contradiction, and that no other Man could be the Author. And if after this any Man can believe, that these are Fictions and Chimera's made to the King's Hand, and not proceeding from the Heart of a penitent Prince himself, under the deep and painful sense of Guilt, it is high time to leave disputing, and offering any more Reasons to them, whom no Reasons will convince, nor Truth satisfy.

And thus I have done, with what I have at present to say, in this Controversy, and hope it may tend to the Satisfaction of unbiass'd and unprejudiced Men. I confess a great deal more might be said, especially in the latter Part, and with respect to the *Intrinsic Proof*. The Book it self affords many Arguments, and of equal Force with these, which convincingly evidence, that the King, and the King only was the Author of it; but I thought it sufficient to point out these few, which may serve for a Handle to any judicious Reader, to observe many others of the same Weight and Importance.

I know but of one Objection more, and that respects a Prayer added to some Editions of the King's Book, as used by the King, and said to be taken out of a Romance, &c. Now, altho' I know no manner of Harm in this, and the Objection is plainly peevish and querulous; for why may not a Man use good Expressions in his

his Prayers, let them be borrowed from whom they will; as well as a good Sentence out of a Heathen Writer, and which was never any Blemish, tho' on the most Pious Occasions; yet there is great reason to believe, that the King did never make use of it; for that it is not found in the *First*, nor in several others the most early Editions of this Book. And for the Reader's Satisfaction in this Point, I have here subjoin'd a Catalogue of the several Editions of it, both without and with the Prayers, Collected with great Care and Industry, by Mr. *Keble* at the *Turk's Head* in *Fleetstreet*, and printed on a Sheet of large Paper, to bind with the King's Works; and for preventing any Mistake, he hath with great Exactness given the Size of each Volume, the Time of Printing, the Number of Pages that the Contents consist of, and the Number of the Pages of the Book it self, when there were any such: And in which it is observable, that there are no less than 29 Editions without the Prayers, and 17 of them Printed 1648.

But since the first Edition of this *Vindication*, I have receiv'd full and convincing Information concerning the Mystery of this Prayer, that it was the Artifice of *Bradshaw*, or *Milton*, or both, and by them surreptitiously thrust into the King's Works, to discredit the whole. This Information comes originally from Mr. *Hills* the Printer, but convey'd by two very worthy Gentlemen, and against whom there can be no possible Exception, Dr. *Gill* and Dr. *Bernard*, who both were Physicians to him, and very intimate with him; and because their Testimony is so very important, the Reader shall have it in their own Words, from a Letter of Dr. *Gill* to the Honorable *Charles Hatton* Esq; at the end of which is added the Testimony of Dr. *Bernard*, and which I have now in my custody; and is as follows, *verbatim*.

Sir,

May 1. 1694.

" I most readily comply with your Request, in informing you
 " from whom I heard what I was saying, (the last time I had the
 " Honour to be in your company) that I was told, *Pamela's* Prayer
 " was transferr'd out of Sir *Philip Sidney's Arcadia* into Εἰκὼν
 " Βασιλική, by a Contrivance of *Bradshaw's* and *Milton's*. Sir, I make
 " no Secret of it, and I frankly tell you my Author, who was Mr.
 " *Henry Hills*, *Oliver's* Printer; and the Occasion, as he many Years
 " ago told me, was this: Mr. *Dugard*, who was *Milton's* intimate
 " Friend, happen'd to be taken Printing an Edition of the Kings
 " Book, *Milton* us'd his Interest to bring him off, which he effected
 " by the means of *Bradshaw*, but upon this Condition, that *Dugard*
 " should add *Pamela's* Prayer to the aforesaid Book he was Print-
 " ing; as an Atonement for his Fault, and designing thereby to
 " bring a Scandal upon the Book, and blast the Reputation of its

" Au-

“ Author; pursuant to which Design, they industriously took care afterwards, as soon as Published, to have it taken Notice of.
 “ Mr. *Hills* hath affirm’d this to me several times of his own Knowledge; and I need not tell you how easy it was for him to know it, who being a forward and confiding Man, was in most of the
 “ Intrigues of that Time, and intrusted with Business of the greatest Privacy by the then governing Parties; and no Man that
 “ I have met with was better vers’d in the Secret History of that Time than himself, as I have found by the often Discourse I
 “ had with him; for being his Physician for several Years, I had many Opportunities to talk with him about those Affairs;
 “ from whom I have received a different Account of the Transactions of those Times, than what was commonly known or made publick, and many Passages that I was a Stranger to before.
 “ Thus, Sir, I have given you my Authority, for what I said, which
 “ if you please, you may communicate to the rest of our Friends, and believe me always,
 “ Your most humble Servant, Tho. Gill.

“ I do remember very well, that Mr. *Henry Hills* the Printer told me, that he had heard *Bradshaw* and *Milton* laugh at their inserting a Prayer out of Sir *Philip Sidney’s Arcadia*, at the end of *King Charles’s* Book; and then *Milton* had jeer’d it, in his Answer: Adding withal, that that they were Men would stick at nothing that might gain their Point. And this I testify.

May 10. 1694.

Francis Bernard.

And to this I add part of another Letter, written a Year before, from Dr. *Bernard* to Dr. *Goodall*, in these Words:

“ Concerning the Prayer out of Sir *Philip Sidney*, (which *Milton* makes a great bustle about:) I remember *Henry Hills* (who was *Oliver’s* Printer, and my Patient) told me among other things, of the Artifice of that Party; that he had heard *Bradshaw* and *Milton* laugh how they had put the Cheat upon the World; and in order thereunto, had printed the whole Book a-new, that they
 “ might add that Prayer thereunto; and that they were not more studious of any thing, than to rob that Good King of the Reputation of that Book. I doubt not, but Dr. *Gill* can remember
 “ something to this purpose from the same *Hen. Hills*. I am,

March 13. 1693.

Your most assured humble Servant,

Francis Bernard.

But to set this Matter of the Prayers in as clear a Light as I can, I have these Two things to observe.

1. It does not any where appear, that Sir *Philip Sidney’s Arcadia* was a Book that the King used to read, or delighted in, altho’ it might well deserve ev’n so Wise a Princes perusal, Sir *Thomas Herbert*, who waited on the King from the time of his Imprisonment at
 Hol-

Holdenby to his Death; who had the Charge of the King's Books, and gives a particular Account of what Books the King read, either in his Serious Studies, or for Divertisement, and alleviating his Spirits. And he mentions the *Sacred Scriptures*, Bishop *Andrew's* Sermons, *Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity*, Dr. *Hammond's Works*, *Villalpandus* upon *Ezekiel*, *Sandys's Paraphrase*, *Herbert's Poems*: and among the less Serious, *Gosfrey of Rulleigne*; *Torquato Tasso*, Englished by Mr. *Fairfax*; *Ariosto*, by Sir *John Harrington*; and *Spencer's Fairy-Queen*. And these are all he mentions, but not the least Syllable, nor Intimation of *Pembroke's Arcadia*, which Book had the King often used, or delighted much in the reading of it, to be sure he never would have omitted it; for it was as considerable in its kind, and deserv'd as much Commendation, as those other Facetious Authors, that he did mention; and his pretermittting it, is a good Argument that the King did not make use of it, and had it not by him to read, if he had been at any time so disposed. But on the other side, it is plain enough that *Milton* was very well acquainted with it, that he had spent much time in reading it, and the Book was very familiar to him; and tho' he comes infinitely short of that Noble Author, in the cleanness and sprightliness of his Wit, and Expression, yet any Man, who is acquainted with both, will easily see, that he propos'd to himself *this very Book* as a Pattern, to mend his Stile and Invention: But then he was of too foul, gross, and sour a Complexion; Sir *Philip Sidney* was the most accomplish'd Gentleman of his Age; and what came from his Pen was like himself, very fine, candid, generous, pleasant, and easy; but in *Milton's* Mouth, it is turn'd into Poison, and runs into *fulsom, nasty, and opprobrious Language*; he aims at the same Wit, but corrupts it, and it *stinks of the Kessel*. However, it is evident that he had read the *Arcadia* over and over; and if there was no other Reason, this before us is sufficient to shew how familiar he was with it, and how well vers'd in all Parts of it, he could it seems find out *Pamela's* Prayer immediately; it was no sooner printed, but he lays his Hands on it, hits the Blot presently, and falls a bawling as loud as he could, of *fealing, forging, unhallowing, and unchristening*; and I cannot tell what. But if it was in his Account, a thing so ungodly and wicked, only to use it; What must it be to invent it, to forge it, to steal it into the Kings Book, and then impudently to rail upon him, for that which was only the Work of *Milton's* own Hands? This is Iniquity multiplied, Lye upon Lye, Forgery upon Forgery, and one degree of Villany superadded to another, that it exceeds the Audaciousness ev'n of Hell it self. And if there be in the World any such flagitious Crimes that exceed ev'n the Devil himself, 'tis the forging a Villany our selves, and then translating it to other Men,

Men, and accusing them for it. The Devil is indeed the Accuser of the Brethren, but then he accuses them of their own Faults, and not those which are purely and only his own Acts; this is a degree of such unhallowed Wickedness, that it outstrips Hell it self, and must be left as the sole and incommunicable Prerogative and Propriety of those *Rebel-Saints*, who suck'd the Blood of their own Lawful and most Gracious Sovereign, and then with their own crafty Devices slandered the Footsteps of the Lord's Anointed. *Milton* indeed soon espied the *Prayer*, and it was no wonder, for it was *For the Finner*: He that laid it there, need not be told where to find it. And it is not the least remarkable, that *Milton* must have compos'd his Scorn and Raillery upon this *Prayer*, even before any of the Prayers were Printed and Published. For *Milton's Answer* came out 1649, and I have now a Book by me of that Edition, on the Title-Page of which is this Manuscript Note, (*It came not out till this Nov. 7.*) And what *Milton* saith about this Prayer, is in *Chap. 1.* of his *Answer*, and makes no small part of that Chapter; and then allowing a moderate time for his Composing the rest, and for the Printing and Publishing the whole; and it will appear pretty plain, that he must have finish'd all his Invectives about this Prayer, some time before the Prayer it self was printed; for none of the Prayers were Printed in any of the *Seventeen* *fr?* *Imprissions*; and it was but 9 Months after the King's Murder that *Milton's* Book came out: And 'tis probable enough, that he caus'd the Prayers to be printed in the interim, and got them published, that they might be ready, and just fit for his Purpose, to play his Pranks upon. And to this I add:

2. It deserves Inquiry, Who it was that caus'd these Prayers to be printed, or, by whose hands they were convey'd to the Press? All the Prints that I have seen, which give any Account of them, only say, *they were deliver'd by the King into the Hands of Dr. Juxon Bishop of London, at his Death*: And this *Milton* himself confirms, *As immediately* (says he) *before his Death, to popp into the Hand of that grave Bishop who attended him, as a special Relic of his Saintly Exercises, a Prayer, tollen, word for word, &c.* Now from hence it will appear plainly and undeniably, that that Party, and they only, were the Persons who convey'd the *Prayers* to the Press, and caus'd them to be Printed; and for what purpose, let any Man judge: to be sure, not to do any Justice, or Honour to the King, or Service to his Memory, but for their own villanous Designs. For what Papers soever the King might deliver to Bishop *Juxon*, it is most certain he could Print none of them, nor yet keep them to himself. For the *Regicides* immediately laid Hands on him, and Imprison'd him, Examn'd him with all the Rigor and Severity imaginable. What the King said to him, and what was the meaning of the King's Words to him

him on the Scaffold ; and not only so, but search'd him narrowly for all Papers that he might have from the King, and ev'n to Scraps and Parcels ; and moreover rifled all the King's Cloaths, Scrivewers, Cabinets and Boxes, and whatever they found, they kept in their own hands. But it is more proper to give Account of this in the Words of the Persons themselves, who have recorded it ; which will both explain the Case, and confirm the Truth of it. The Author of *Regii Sanguinis Clamor*, (pag. 83.) saith, *Rege sublato, Episcopus Londinensis pretinuus in Custodia conjicitur, &c.* The King being taken away, they forthwith cast the Bishop of London into Prison, taking from him all the Papers which the King deliver'd to him, searching the King's Cloaths and Desks, lest any thing of the King's writing should be publish'd ; nor is there any doubt, but by that means, the World hath been deprived of many noble Monuments of Prudence and Piety. Mr. *Sunderfon* in his History reports it thus, (pag. 1139.) *From the Bishop of London (long time kept Prisoner) they take away all the King's Papers, ransack his Coffers and Cloaths, for Scripts and Scroles.* Dr. *Bates*, who was *Cromwell's* Physician, and had Opportunities enough of knowing every Particular of that Transaction, represents it thus in his *Elench. Mor. Ab Episcopo Londinensi, &c.* The Bishop of London being long kept in Prison, they took away the Papers which the King deliver'd to him, rifling his Chests and Cloaths, and searching every Hole and Corner, that not the least Paper written by the King should come abroad ; and in good truth, they robb'd Mankind of many excellent Monuments of Piety and Wisdom. Dr. *Perincheif* gives us the same Case, in these Words : *They take care to suppress all those more lively Figures, and more lasting Statues, his Writings ; and therefore force from my Lord of London, whom they kept Prisoner, all those Papers his Majesty had deliver'd to him ; and make a most narrow Search of his Cloaths and Cabinets, lest any of those Monuments of Piety and Wisdom should escape, to the Benefit of Mankind.* Here is enough to satisfy any Man, that it was utterly impossible for Bishop *Juxon*, or any Person from him, or indeed any of the Royal Party, to transmit these Prayers to the Press : or any other Papers which the King deliver'd to Bishop *Juxon*, or left behind him in his Pockets, or any where else, within the compass of their Power. For they were all taken, and never (like those at *Naseby*) restor'd again, but all was kept in their own Custody. The Conclusion is this : That after that time, whatever was printed, must come from themselves ; and if any of the Papers that the King deliver'd to Bishop *Juxon* at his Death, were made publick, they are the Persons who were the Publishers, and no others. Because no other Persons had them in their Power, but themselves. And there is no doubt, but that *Milton* himself first brought these Prayers, and got them printed at *Dugard's* Press, and from thence they were

quickly translated to Mr. *Royson's*; for every little Addition having the King's Name to it, quickned the Sale, and made all the Bookfellers, so soon as they had notice of it, add the Prayers to their own Editions, supposing them all genuine, not being conscious of *Milton's* Forgery; but however, very instrumental, tho' innocently, to spread and propagate it. 'Tis very probable, that some of these Prayers were such as were used and penn'd by the King. For it had been ridiculous and impolitick, to have counterfeited four Prayers, when it was *one only* they had to play upon; and they suffer'd those that were genuine to pass, to give Countenance to the other: And *Milton* having them in his hands, he added this of his own coining to the rest, to discredit the whole, and to supply himself with Matter to burlesque the Book, and to abuse the King. And I have a very good Evidence, that the King left but *three Prayers* behind him, and deliver'd to Bishop *Juxon* no more but *Three Prayers*, the Fourth, that is *Pamela's*, was of their own framing. It is the Testimony of the same Gentlewoman, the Daughter of Sir *Ralph Whisfield*, (whom I have mention'd before) in these Words: *And farther she says, that within two Days after the King's Death, she saw in a Spanish-Leather-Case three of those Prayers that are printed in some, if not in all the Editions of that Book, which were said to be used by him in the time of his Restraint, and delivered to the Bishop of London at his Death; from whom they were taken away by the Officers of the Army; and it was from one of those Officers in whose custody they then were, that she had the Favour to see them; and that the Person who shew'd her those Prayers, shew'd her also the George with the Queen's Picture in it, and two Seals, which were the King's.* This farther confirms the Truth, that the Prayers were only in their Custody; and moreover, that the Number of those Prayers were but Three, the Fourth is their own; and *Milton* vouchsafed to Print the other three, for the sake of the fourth; and he was contented the World should see some of the King's Prayers; *provided she might add one more*, to disparage all the rest. And I believe any Man who will impartially consider and compare the Prayers, will find enough in the Prayers themselves to detect the Forgery. Let him in particular compare together the first and the last: the first is *Pamela's* Prayer, and by *Milton* called, *A Prayer in time of Captivity*; the last hath a Title, *A Prayer in time of imminent Danger*; let him, I say, compare both these together, and he will soon see that the subject Matter, and Drift, and Intention of the Words is all the same, but the latter is by many degrees more suitable to the King's Circumstances at that time, much more affecting his present State, representing his Condition in such pious and ardent Groans, as plainly arise from a Soul under the sense and feeling of those present Miseries which encompassed him round about.

about. In short, there is nothing at all prayed or petition'd for, in the Words of *Pamela's* Prayer, but what is also in the other; only in the latter the Expressions are more devout and ardent, more accommodated to the King's Case, more express and particular; more the Language of a devout and humble Heart. under the quick sense of a terrible and devouring Calamity; and in one word, by many degrees more adapted to the King's Use and present Occasions; and I will leave it with any Man, whether he can think it probable, that the King could borrow Expressions from a Romance, or from any other Book (besides the Scriptures) to cloath his Thoughts with; and for those very Things and Ends, for which he had already compos'd a Prayer, by many degrees, and more particularly suited to his Necessities, and far more pathetically expressing the Sentiments of his Heart.

I have yet to add to this, that King *Charles II.* had so little Opinion of the Prayers added to this Book, that when *Royston* asked his Leave for the Reprinting it in 1680, he gave him leave, but expressly order'd he should leave out those additional Prayers. And it is to be observ'd, that this was five Years after the pretended *Memorandum*. And it seems King *Charles* was then satisfied the Book was his Father's, and he took so much Care of it, as to throw out what he suspected might be supposititious. This I had from Mr. *Norton*, who was Mr. *Royston's* Printer, and I have it yet by me attested, under his Hand, *Aug. 8. 1693.* in these Words: *I find in my Book, March 15. 1680. I receiv'd from Mr. Royston a parcel of Paper in order to Print the King's Meditations, about which time I had several Conferences with him; he said he would not Print it, until he had the King's Leave; some few Days after he had his Majesty's leave to print it, but without any Addition of Prayers; and which Mr. Royston liked very well, for he feared whilst he absconded, his Servants had some Tricks put upon them in the Additional Prayers, tho' he could not say certainly that he who brought it to his Servants, was sent by Mr. Milton, but he much suspected it. Mr. Norton adds, Then Mrs. Royston can tell, that her Husband, by the Men then in Power, had great Sums of Money offer'd him, if he would say that the King was not the Author of that Book, and that he himself (Mr. Norton) had often heard him say the same.*

Roger Norton.

I shall conclude the whole with this one General Observation, and I heartily recommend to the Reader's serious Thoughts, the Consideration of the Persons (or rather Parties) who have been, and yet are engaged in this Controversy; and an impartial Reflection upon that, will easily lead any Man to judge, which of them are the most likely to be *Guilty of Forgery*. And this is of great Weight in most Cases, as well as in this; for such as the Men

are, such are their Actions; and according to their just Characters, so are their Proceedings and Methods; as the Tree is known by its Fruits. And if on the *one Side* there appear Fraud, Partiality, Hypocrisy and Injustice; if *on the other* Plainness, Sincerity and Uprightness, it will not be difficult to assign at whose Door the Imposture ought to be laid. Now the first Persons, who pretended to question whether the King was the Author of this Book, were the same Men who barbarously and unjustly murder'd his Person, I say, *pretended to Question*, for I doubt not but most of them, especially those of the Army, and of their Committees, were abundantly satisfied that it was the King's own Work, having themselves seen the greatest part of it wrote with his own Hand, after it was taken at *Naseby*; for it was in their custody more than two Years; and some of them did not sliak to own it, when it was past recovery. But then they were such a Generation of Men, who never made any Scruple of Asserting any thing, tho' never so contrary to their Knowledge, if it might be serviceable to their Cause and Interests. These were the very Methods they took with the King himself, inventing all manner of Lyes to render the King odious, and themselves acceptable to the People. This was the Mother of all their *Scare-Crow Plots*, of an *Army of Papists hid under Ground*; of the *Pope's Bull newly come into England, for the more effectual prosecuting the Catholick War*; of the *King's coming at Midnight with 1500 Horse, to sack the City, and cut their Throats*; which so alarm'd the City of London, that they presently got together 40000 Men, set Forms, and Stools, and Boards cross all the Streets, to hinder the Horse; and the very Women had provided scalding Water, and set at their Doors, to throw on the Cavaliers: of a *wonderful and amazing Design of Blowing up the Thames, to Drown the City*; of a *Plaiſter taken from a Plague-Sore, and sent into the House in a Letter to Mr. Pym, that he being taken with it, it might spread all over the House, and endanger all the Members*; who, (God knows,) were infected with a far worse Plague long before, and long after too; they had a Contagion in their own Bowels, which infected not only the House, but spread all over the Nation, and destroyed more Men, than twenty of the most direful Pestilences that this Nation yet ever felt under the Scourge of God.

There are Ten-thousand more, and to repeat half of them would fill a Volume; 'tis enough to observe in short, that That Cursed Rebellion was begotten by Lyes, that it was born with Lyes; that it was brought up, nourish'd, fed and maintain'd with Lyes and Perjury, and that at last it dyed with a Lye in its Mouth.

These are the Persons who first concern'd themselves on that side of the Question, and we are likely to expect much Truth and Fair-

Fair-dealing concerning the King from them, who had used him so outrageously and villanously when he was living; if they had scattered abroad so many Lyes while he was in a Condition to complain, and to defend himself from the Injury, 'tis no wonder they attempted upon *Dead Letters*, which could not reply again, or complain of the Wrong. If they had that horrid Wickedness, to *Murder his Sacred Person*, and with their Hands in his Blood, it was but a small Step to outrage his Memory, and to fall foul on the *Monuments of his Piety*. They shewed their Inclinations, in pulling down and destroying his Statues at the *Exchange* and *St. Paul's Church*, and razing out his Arms in all Churches and Chapels, changing Names of Ships, and defacing all the Publick Memorials of him: And this *Immortal Book* being a Monument *Aere perennius*, far more lasting than Brass or Marble, they did their utmost to destroy it too; but when that was out of their Power, they found out an Equivalent, they destroy'd *all of the King in it*, and gave out that it was none of his own. When they could not Murder the Child as well as the Father; they made it Supposititious, and the Offspring of another Parent; when they could not suppress the Book, they endeavour'd to make a Bastard of it, and the Production of another Man. This was all the Way that was left, there was no other; the Book was got into all Men's hands, and to stifle it was impossible; and seeing it could not be conceal'd, it was to be branded and stigmatiz'd, as an illegitimate and spurious Birth; and there was no reason to expect otherwise from those Men, what Justice could be expected to the Book from them, who with such unheard-of Wickedness and Malice had used the Author. And as the Case stood with them, such Conduct was in a manner necessary to their Circumstances. The Book flew in their Faces like a Flash of Lightning, and display'd the Glories and Virtues of the King, to their utter Confusion. There was not a Sentence, not a Line in the whole Book, but pierc'd their very Hearts and Marrow. And the higher the Book rose in Reputation, the lower did they sink in the Eyes of the People, and the more clear did their Villany and Infamy appear, and the more excite the Rage and Fury of a deluded Nation, against such Mischreants, who had stop'd the Breath of our Nostrils, and extinguish'd the light of our Eyes. When therefore they ditown'd the Book, they did but Plead their own Cause, and they found themselves under the same Necessity; and by the same Methods of Lying, Treachery, and Deceit, to rob him of this noble Monument of his Piety, as they were before of his Revenues and Life. But altho' for the Sins of the Nation, they had Power over his Person, and through GOD's all-wise Providence, he himself was deliver'd into the Hands of Merciless and Bloody Men, and they did to him what they pleaded,

yet through GOD's Mercy and Providence, and Goodness to this Nation, this *Glorious Work* hath escaped all their Stratagems, and in spite of all their Frauds and Impostures, will live for ever, and transmit his Glorious Name, and their own Wickedness, to all future Generations. The Illustrious Beams of Piety and Charity, of Wisdom and Goodness, which shine bright throughout the whole Book; they are but so many Lines terminating in this Centre, the horrid Perfidiousness and Biseness of those inhuman Wretches, who imbrued their Hands in the Blood of a Prince of such admirable Holiness and Vertue: And so long as this Book remains in the World, (and that I presume will be so long as this Nation lasts) their monstrous and abominable Wickedness will stand upon eternal Record, and they will be an *Hissing and Astonishment, an Execration and a Curse to all Posterity, and for evermore.*

Next consider the *Party* who have espoused the same Side of the Question, and who deny the King to be the Author, and they will be found generally and for the most part, if not altogether, to be Men of the very same Principles, and Retainers to the same Cause; they bear the same implacable Hatred to King *Charles* the First and to his Memory, revive the same Malicious Stories, in short, they tread in the same Steps, pursue the same Methods with their Fathers, and for the same End. 'Tis therefore no wonder, that those Men deny the Authority of the Book; for they act upon the same Reasons with those before; and whatever they may believe themselves, 'tis inconsistent with their Principles, and with the Ends and Purposes they drive at, that other Persons should believe it. 'Tis not agreeable to their Intentions and Designs, that the World should have a good and honourable Opinion of King *Charles* the First. And therefore what was said before in the foregoing Paragraph, is equally of force here. But that which I particularly aim at here, is to shew, that it is not an unusual Practice with that Party to counterfeit Authors, and to impose them upon the World for genuine, if it may prove advantageous to their Cause. And this will bring the Case home, and let the Reader judge, who is most likely to be guilty of the Imposture. It hath been reputed as a standing Principle, that *Pious Frauds may warrantably be committed*, if so be they be serviceable to advance the Cause, and for the Interest of the Party. Of many Instances I shall select two famous ones.

1. Relates to the Posshumous Works of the renowned Mr. *Hooker*, of which Sir *William Dugdale* (in his *Short View of the late Troubles*, pag. 38.) gives this Account: *Whose five Books of Ecclesiastical Poetry being of high Esteem, and having heard there were three more written by him on the same Subject, which under colour of a desire to search after his Death for some Writings in his Study, were by certain Clergy-Men,*
who

who stood disaffected to the Discipline of the Church, unhappily lurch'd away. They (the Long-Parliament-Party) d'd at length gain these very Books into their Hands, and not long after the beginning of this late unparallel'd Rebellion, for the better accomplishing their long-studied Ends, most shamefully corrupted them in sundry places, omitting divers Passages, which were unsuitable to their Purposes, and instead thereof inserting what they thought might give Countenance to their present evil Practices; amongst which was this, in terminis, That tho' the King was singulis major, yet he was universis minor; and having so done, caused them to be published in Print. By which Fallacy, divers well-meaning People were miserably captivated, and drawn to their Party: And at length were not ashamed in that Treaty at the Isle of Wight, with his Majesty, to vouch the Authority of this venerable Man, in derogation of his Supremacy, and to place the Sovereign Power in the People: William late Viscount Say and Seale, being the Person who boldly urg'd it; whereto the King answered, That tho' those three Books were not allowed to be Mr. Hooker's, yet he would admit them, in case he would assent to the Judgment of Mr. Hooker, declar'd in the other five Books, which were unquestionably his.

I have from hence but two things to observe: First, That my Lord Say urg'd this to the King, and 'tis highly probable that his Lordship himself was instrumental to that Interpolation in Mr. Hooker, or at least privy to it, and so the most ready to quote and urge it; ev'n as Milton foisted in Pamela's Prayer, and then he was the first to fall foul upon the King, and abuse him for it.

The Second is, That notwithstanding these base Corruptions, yet Dr. Gauden (then Bishop of Exeter, and it seems he had not quite shaken off his Old Leaven, some of the Old Rebellious Seeds were yet in him) upon the Reprinting the five genuine Books, and the pretended three, taking upon him to write a Preface to the whole, and therein to give an Account of Mr. Hooker's Life, hath not only, with great Confidence (they are the Words of Sir William Dugdale) used divers Arguments to satisfy the World, that those three Books were penn'd by Mr. Hooker, (notwithstanding those Poisonous Assertions against the Regal Power) but much misrepresented him in the Narrative of his Life. (Dugdale, pag. 39.)

2. The next is the Case of two Pamphlets, the one called *Vox Hibernie*, the other, *A Direction to the Parliament*; both printed 1640, with the Archbishop of Armagh's Name set to them, as if they had been of that Bishop's own composing: And upon which Injury, the Bishop complains to the House of Lords, and had an Order from them for the suppressing *Vox Hibernie*; and upon Complaint to the House of Commons, That a certain Pamphlet lately most incuriously father'd upon him, and spread under the false Title of the Bishop of Armagh's

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Direction to the House of Parliament, concerning the Liturgy and Episcopal Government; he had an Order from the Commons, dated Feb. 9. 1647, that the Master and Company of Stationers, &c. shall take course for suppressing it, and not suffer it to be printed; or if already printed, not suffer the same to be divulged. And yet notwithstanding the Archbishop's so solemnly and publickly disowning them, notwithstanding these two Orders, one from the Lords, the other from the Commons, the Party in 1660, printed them again in the very same manner as before, and with the Archbishop's Name to them, as if they had been his most genuine Works: And of which Case Bishop Sanderson gives us this Reflection; speaking of the Adverse Party's having been put to the pitiful Shifts of setting forth Supposititious Pamphlets, in Favour of their Cause, under counterfeit Names, adds: *This is one of their Pix Fraudes, or Godly Cheats, a Practice common to them with the Jesuits, as many of their other Practices (yea and of their Doctrines too) are. Thus dealt they with the Reverend Primate of Armagh, printing in his Name, and that in his Life-time too, (such was their Modesty and tenderness of Conscience) two several Pamphlets; the one Vox Hiberniæ, the other, A Direction to Parliament; and sure if they had the Foreheal to make thus bold with him when he was alive, able to complain of the Injury done him, and to protest against it, we cannot doubt but they would make at least as bold with Him and his Name after he was dead, when they might do it with greater Security, and less fear of Controul. They that betake themselves to these unworthy Arts, tho' they may please themselves for a while, yet their Rejoicing is but short, ——— For the Discovery once made, the Impostors are forced to lie down in Sorrow and Shame: For Wise Men fall off faster from them, than ever Fools came on, concluding the Cause to be desperately Crazy, that must be beholding to such weak Props as these, to shore it up, and support it. (Bishop Sanderson's Preface to some Treatises of Archbishop Usher and others, published by Dr. Barnard.*

And thus we see how very apt that Party hath been to counterfeit Authors, and to impose upon the World; and it hath been complain'd of ever since they appeared in the World; and Bishop Sanderson, a Man of excellent Judgment and Learning, but of equal Truth and Modesty, would never have charg'd them with so much Sharpness and Severity, and equal'd them with the Jesuits in this Practice, but upon the clearest Grounds in the World. And which is yet worse, they no sooner counterfeit an Author, but presently with great Boldness and Briskness, build upon their own Counterfeits, and fall a disputing with their Adversaries, and frame their Arguments out of their own Forgeries: And I my self have seen more, I believe, than a hundred times, their *Supposititious Pieces* father'd upon Mr. Hooker, quoted and urged as his own Opinion and Judgment.

The same I say, as to those *two Spurious Pamphlets* laid upon Archbishop *Usher*, they have been introduc'd at every turn, to justify their Errors about Episcopacy and Church-Government, covering themselves under a Venerable Name, tho' it be a Name only of their own making. And we have an Instance of their strange Boldness in this kind, ev'n in a Matter of *Publick Record*; they took out of the XXth Article of the Church of England, a Clause concerning the *Authority of the Church*, and printed Copies of the *Articles without that Clause*, and dispers'd them not only over this Nation, but to Foreign Protestant Churches; and when they had done that, and it had pass'd for some time, then, according to their Custom, they fell foul on the Bishops and Church, charging them with Forgery, that they had foisted in *that Clause*, to support their Grandeur and Authority; and they made so much Noise about it, and affirm'd their Accusations with such Boldness and Assurance, that Archbishop *Laud* found himself under a necessity of answering that impudent Falshood, in a publick Speech in the *Star-Chamber*; and to shew the Genius of the Party, how ready they are, and what Pains they take to support and propagate their own Forgeries, it is not long since they publish'd a new Book, call'd *Priest-craft in Perfection*, where this impudent Calumny is reviv'd, and the Church with the utmost Malice and Confidence charg'd with Forgery. But this Book hath been so well handled already, and eternally silenc'd by a late very judicious and worthy Author, in a Book intituled, *A Vindication of the Church of England, &c.* — that as I need not, so I cannot add any thing to it; all that I need to observe is, the Guise of these Gentlemen: They are not content to forge and counterfeit at pleasure, but they think they have not done their Work, except also they can fasten their own Forgeries and Impostures on their Adversaries. This may pass for Wit perhaps, but 'tis abominable Villany too, and adds a terrible Weight to the Reckoning. The Crime of Forgery (as bad as it is) is redoubled, when the Guilt of it is, by the Authors themselves, translated to other Men: ev'n as the Sin of *Joseph's* Mistress was highly advanc'd, by charging *her own Adultery* on her *chast and innocent Servant*.

I ought not, while I am upon this Article, to omit the *Customary Forgeries* of that Party, who made nothing of counterfeiting *Papers, Letters, Petitions*, or any thing else, if it might serve to answer their Ends, to create Jealousies, or to brand and stigmatize *any Persons* they did not favour. Thus for Instance, When the Lords *Colepeper* and *Faulkland* were prefer'd to the King's Service, and to Places of Honour and Trust; the Party was displeased, and angry, and expected those Preferments themselves; and then according to their usual Methods of Honesty and Sincerity; they counterfeited first,

and then printed a Letter, pretending it to be intercepted, as written from a *Roman Catholick* to another of the same Profession, in which he gives Account, *That they had at last by the Interest of their Friends, procured those two Honourable Persons to be preferr'd to those Offices; and that they were well assured they would be ready to do them, and all their Friends, all good Offices.* (Lord Clarendon's History, Part I. pag. 269.) This was at that time the most infamous and odious Imputation that could be laid upon any Man, to be reckon'd a *Papist*, or a Patron or Friend to them. And when both those Honourable Persons had always been so firm and steady to the *Protestant Religion*, and had given many publick Evidences of their Affection and Zeal to the *Protestant Interest*, and especially the Lord Faulkland, who had written with great Strength of Reason, and admirable vivacity of Style and Spirit, *against the Papists*, that they were not able, with all their Subtily and Art, to fasten any thing openly upon them, that might reflect on the Sincerity of their Professions. They then betook themselves to the honest Method of Digging underground, and *Forging Jesuitical Letters*, and Publishing them to the Nation; and thereby insinuating, that however they might appear above-board, they were in their Hearts devoted to the *Papish Interest*, and intended to *Advance that Cause to their Power*. This is an Engine, tho' founded in the greatest Baseness and Villany in the World, and which a Man not abandon'd to the utmost Wickedness would startle at; yet such, as there is no Fence for it; the most innocent Man that ever was can never be secure one Moment, so long as there are a Company of Men of such profligate Principles, who can *forge* what they please, and when they have done that, with *canceriz'd Consciences* and *impudent Faces*, publish it with all Boldness and Assurance to the World. And this was at length grown so common and familiar to them, that they used it as a meer Stratagem of War: And if any Man stood in their Way, or was offensive to them, they immediately fell upon these Methods, and by some *Forgery* or other, represented them forthwith as downright *Papists*, or at least *Papists in Masquerade*. And by these unchristian and unsanctified Means they abused the People, brought the best Friends of the Kingdom into Hatred and Contempt, and ruined the King and the Nation. I should never have done, if I should reckon but the Hundredth part of their *Forgeries*; every Man who is the least acquainted with the History of those Times, will find enough and too much, to raise Horror, Amazement, and Indignation, that a *most pious King* and *flourishing Kingdom* should be brought to Desolation, by *meer Lies, Fignments and Forgeries*.

But here is one Particular I cannot forbear to mention; and it is I believe the most flagitious and impudent piece of *Forgery* that
 ever

ever was in the World since the first Creation of it; if we consider either the thing itself, or the Men who were engaged in it. The Case is this. There were two Petitions presented to the Long Parliament 1640, and one of these Petitions had great Numbers of Hands to it, to the Number of 20000; and the other from the Ministers of London and the Parts adjacent, with several Hundreds of Hands to it. The Intent of both the Petitions was, *the total Extirpation of Episcopacy*. And yet the thing itself was an *intire Forgery*: very few, perhaps not One of those Twenty Thousand in one of the Petitions; and possibly not One, to be sure but very few of those many Hundreds in the other, had ever subscribed, or ever consented to any such Petition, which in their Names was confidently presented by Alderman *Pemington* on one side, and by Mr. *Marshal*, with a few Divines on the other, to the *House of Commons*. But I had rather present this to the Reader's view in my Lord *Clarendon's* own Words, who was then a Member of that *House of Commons*, and well understood the whole Management, who (*Part I. pag. 161. of his History*) thus represents it. *It was a strange Disingenuity, that was practised in the procuring those Petitions, which continued ever after in the like Addresses. The Course was, first to prepare a Petition, very modest and dutiful for the Form, and for the Matter not very unreasonable, and to communicate it at some Publick Meeting, where Care was taken it should be received with Approbation; the Subscription of very few Hands filed the Paper itself, where the Petition was written; and therefore many more Signers were annexed for the reception of the Number; which gave all the Credit, and procured all the Countenance to the Undertaking. When a multitude of Hands was procured, the Petition itself was cut off, and a new one framed, suitable to the Design in hand, and annex'd to the long List of Names which were subscribed to the former. By this means, many Men found their Hands subscribed to Petitions of which before they never heard. As several Ministers, whose Hands were to the Petition and Declaration of the London-Ministers before mentioned, have professed to many Persons: That they never saw that Petition or Declaration before it was presented to the House, but had Signed another, the substance of which was, not to be compelled to take the Oath enjoind by the new Canons. And when they found, instead of that, their Names set to a Desire of an Alteration of the Government of the Church, they with much Trouble went to Mr. *Marshal*, with whom they had intrusted the Petition, and their Hands; who gave them no other Answer, but that it was thought fit by those who understood Business better than they; that the Latter Petition should rather be prefer'd than the Former. And when he found they intended by some Publick Act to vindicate themselves from that Calumny, such Persons upon whom they had their greatest dependances, were engaged by Threats*

and Promises to prevail with them, to sit still, and to pass by that indirect Proceeding.

Here we have the *grand Master-piece of Forgery*, such as before that time was never heard of in the World, and which the most flagitious Villains that ever lived never thought of, never durst attempt, or put in practice; this is a Privilege reserv'd peculiar to themselves, and which the Devil never before inspired any of his Votaries with: If a Man sets his Hand and Seal to a *Bond*, or to a *Deed*, and the Person should forge a *new Bond*, or *Deed*, and then fasten them to the same hand, this is highly criminal and penal before God and Man, and in every just Court such a Guilt would be stigmatiz'd with the Pillory, and loss of Ears, besides an eternal Infamy upon his Name. But this is but a small Wickedness in comparison of these, a single Forgery or two is too low a flight for these great Masters of Craft and Cheat, they give us a monstrous Superfoetation, a single Act that contains in the belly of it thousands of Forgeries at once; for 'tis certain that of every Man of those 20000 in *Pennington's* Petition, and every Man of those several Hundreds in *Marshall's* Petition who did not actually consent and subscribe to those very Petitions, they were so many *several and distinct Forgeries*. And it is to be observ'd that my Lord *Clarendon* gives an account not only of these *two Petitions*, as if this horrid practice had ended there, but that *it continued ever after in the like Addresses*, so that it is probable that in the compass of three or four years, there were in this single Article of *Petitions and Addresses* committed some *Millions of Forgeries*. I wish I were able to express the Iniquity of such Practices, but 'tis far beyond the reach of any Expressions I ever was, or ever shall be master of; it carries the *plain Image and Superscription of Hell*, and the inexpressible Villany of it may possibly be conceiv'd, though it transcends the Words of the most copious Language. What is proper for me to observe is, that if those Men had that prodigious Impudence to forge so many Mens Names, and father upon them their own Forgeries, while they were living, and able to disown it, what Practices or Impositions will they stick at, when Men are dead and not able to complain.

Before I end this I crave leave to add a Remark of Mr. *Toland* (in his Life of Mr. *Harrington*, prefix'd before Mr. *Harrington's* Works, p. 16.) of which Mr. *Toland* thus delivers himself, *In his Sister's Papers I find it express'd, that at the King's Command he translated into English Dr. Sanderson's Book concerning the Obligation of Oaths*; whereas it is most certain (and there is as clear Proof of it as need to be) that King *Charles* himself was the Translator of that Book, and all that Mr. *Harrington* was concern'd in it, was to peruse it and to compare it with the Original, and 'tis probable he

might

might take a Copy of it, for at that time, and a long time after, he had a great Reverence and Honour for the King, and he was violently thrust out of the King's Service for magnifying the King's Wisdom in his Arguments with the Commissioners at the Treaty, and his learned Disputes with Mr. *Vines*, and the other Presbyterian Divines, in a Discourse Mr. *Harrington* had with the Officers of the Army. Nevertheless here was a very fair Handle to graft a new Forgery upon; and when Mr. *Toland's* Hand was in, he might as well have translated this Book from the King to Mr. *Harrington*, as the other from the King to Dr. *Gauden*, and Mr. *Harrington's* Sister's Papers would have served for as good Evidence for the one, as Dr. *Walker's* and Mrs. *Gauden's* Papers did for the other. But the difference was, that the robbing the King of that Translation, would not have reflected so much on his Memory, as the divesting him of the *Icon*, for the one was a Testimony only of his Parts, Ingenuity and Accurateness, but the other over and besides them was a mighty Evidence of his great Wisdom and Piety, and therefore Mr. *Toland*, out of abundant condescension no doubt, was contented to suspend his belief, in a point of no great moment. And what are his Reasons for such suspension? Why he gravely tells us That *Anthony Wood* says it was the King's own, and that he shew'd it at different times to *Harrington*, *Herbert*, *Dr. Juxon*, *Dr. Hammond*, *Dr. Sheldon* for their approbation, however that be. Very good, if the bare Affirmation of *Anthony Wood*, that it was the King's; if the King's bare shewing it to those several Persons at different times, be sufficient to create in our Author a suspense whether the King or Mr. *Harrington* were the true Translator, notwithstanding his Sister's Papers. Then I wonder why all that, and twenty times more, why the several Attestations of several unexceptionable Persons, seeing the King write part of it, reading it under his own hand, hearing him own it, having the original Book in custody, having a Copy deliver'd by the King's own hand, having a Book of the King's own hand left as a Legacy. Why these, and all these, should not induce him to suspend his belief as to the *Icon*, as well as far less inducements and less cogent prevail'd with him as to the *Translation*. But some Men have their Belief at great command, they model it by their Inclinations and Affections, and believe according to the subject Matter, and not according to the nature and strength of the Evidence: for tho' there is good Proof, and that which is sufficient, that the King translated that Book of Dr. *Sanderson*, yet it is by many degrees short of the Evidence there is that he was the Author of the *Icon*. And had the *Translation* been a matter of as much Importance, I do not doubt but we should have had as much Noise and as many Arts and Juggles used to have made that an Imposture equal with the other.

I have now done with the first part, the Consideration of the adverse Party, who maintain the other side of the Question in Controversy; I proceed to that Party who are of this side, and really believe *that the King and no other Person was the Author of this Book*. And I shall begin with those very Persons (which may look like a Paradox) that they themselves name as Parties and privy to their Cause, and which alone (if I mistake not) will totally overthrow it, and make it the most incredible thing in the World. Dr. *Walker* names two, Bishop *Duppa*, and the Marquess of *Hartford*; and to these Mrs. *Garden* adds the Lord *Capel*, Dr. *Morley*, my Lord *Clarendon*, Dr. *Skeldon* and Mr. *Simonds*. Here are we see seven Persons by them named, to be Privy and Parties to the contrivance; three of the Laity, and four of the Clergy: Those of the Laity very honourable Persons; the then Lord Chancellor *Hyde*, the Marquess of *Hartford*, the Lord *Capel*: Those of the Clergy three of them Bishops, Dr. *Skeldon* A. B. of *Canterbury*, Dr. *Duppa* and Dr. *Morley*, successively Bishops of *Winchester*, and Mr. *Simonds* a very grave and worthy Divine, and very great Sufferer for the King, a zealous Assertor of the King's Rights, and in the time of the Wars Chaplain to the Prince in the *West*, and deservedly a Man of as good Note, and Reputation, as any Divine in *England* of his Station. And consider them all together: they were Men every one of them of great Honour, Probity and Vertue, every one of them very Loyal and great Sufferers for the King, every one of them of such inflexible Justice, that they lost all they had, and one of them his Life, for a good Conscience. It is not my business to give a Character of these great Men, nor am I able to do it, if it was, *they* were the Glory of the Age they lived in, and Examples to Posterity; but it is enough for my purpose if they were but Men of common Honesty, whereas in truth they were Men of heroick Vertue, and far above the common Standard and Level even of good and upright Men. The publick Evidences and Testimonies they gave by their Constancy and Sufferings, sufficiently and openly declared to the World, that they were superiour to all worldly Considerations and Interests, they were impregnable, and nothing could sway and byass them from pursuing those ways they thought just, with what Hardships and Losses soever they were accompany'd. And now let any Man who soever consider these worthy Men, and their Qualifications; and see if it be possible for him to conceive, that any one of them, and much less all of them together, could be guilty of so much Baseness, as to contrive a scandalous Forgery, and to cheat the Nation with villanous Impostures. They could lay down their Lives for the King, they could lose all they had in his Defence, because his Cause was just and righteous, but they could not *Lye for him*.

This was as unsuitable to their Character, and as dishonourable and ignominious, as the other was honourable and worthy of them. Had they been of Dr. Gauden's complexion, something might have been said, but when some of them were of great and unspotted Honour, all of them of rigid and inflexible Vertue, who never knew how to comply with an unworthy Action, never learned the *Festivall Arts* of lying for the Truth, and playing shameful Juggles and impious Tricks, to encompass their Ends. To intitle such Men to their Cause, making some of them *Parties* to it, all of them *Privy, approving and consenting*, is such a Blow to the whole that it eternally overthrows it, and renders it altogether incredible; and I defy any Man, without offering great Violence to his Faculties, to believe it if he can.

To this I add *all the Loyal Men*, who join'd with King Charles the First, and suffer'd in his Cause; and I must take it for granted, because I never heard otherwise, that there was not a single Man amongst them, but all and every one, of what Degree, Condition, or Qualification soever, but did firmly and undoubtedly believe that King Charles himself, and no other, was the Author of this Book; and if I am mistaken in my Calculation (as I believe I am not) let the Adversary if he can, name so much as one of the many Thousands of the *King's Party* who ever question'd it. And this is of very great weight in this Controversy, and almost all others concerning a matter of Fact, upon many accounts. Nowhere we have a *constant, unanimous, uninterrupted Tradition*, amongst all the *King's Party*, from that time to this, without any one dissenting. And this is of great force, and carries with it all the Arguments that prove the Truth of any Tradition, and the more so, as it passed currently amongst the *King's Party*; I know that is the Exception the Adversary makes against it, which yet is a strong Argument for it, for no body could expect it among his Enemies, as the truth of the Christian Tradition is not to be look'd for among the *Jews* or *Heathens*. For,

1. Some of that Party were always with the King (more or less) to the last; they knew his Councils, his Secrets, his Actings and Proceedings; were privy to all his Affairs, and his inward Intentions; there was nothing hid from some or other of them, and consequently they were the best able, and had the best opportunities of knowing, whether he had wrote such a Book. And if they believ'd it themselves, convey'd the belief of it to others, and transmitted it to the whole Party, it is as great an Evidence as can well be of such a matter of Fact; and I believe no Author of any Book hath a better, many Thousands not halt so good a Testimony, which yet are fully and without any scruple, believ'd to be the true Authors. I do not speak here of the Testimonies that are preserv'd, and of eye Witnesses,

Witnesses, of which we have a particular account, but of the general Acceptation only. No Man can imagine, but the *Great Lords* and others of the *Bed-chamber*, of the *Privy Council*, of the *Secretaries of State*, and many others, continually, or for the most part, waiting on the King, and moreover his *Chaplains*, and others; but many of these were well able to judge, and to be sure far better able than his Enemies. In short, if those, and all those, who knew the King's Mind, were frequently conversant with him, were acquainted with his most secret Affairs; if they all, without the least hesitancy, believ'd the King was the Author, it is not only ridiculous, but egregiously impudent for other Persons to question it, who had no such opportunities, nor any other fitter means to come to the knowledge of it.

2. Consider the time, That was the most fit, and proper time to make Inquiry, and examine fully into the truth of the Fact. The Book was no sooner publish'd, but it flew not only all over the Nation, but almost all over *Europe*, all Mens Mouths were full of it, and it was translated into several Languages, into *Greek*, *Latin*, *French* and *Italian*. And this was the Season, and the only fit and proper Season, for examination into the truth of the Case, because there were then great numbers of Persons living, who could speak to it, and deliver their own Knowledge of the matter; for it being a matter of Fact, the proper and adequate Proof is Testimony. And if there had been the least doubt, diffidence, or distrust, and much more, any cogent Reason or Testimony amongst any of the King's Party against it, we should not fail to have heard of it from one quarter or other. But if it passed current, and unsuspected quite through that Generation, if it was always maintain'd by all those who knew best the King's Person, were best acquainted with his Councils and Transactions, then it stands upon an immovable Foundation, and the *Credit of that Generation*, in whose time and memory that Fact was done, will support the Cause invincibly against all future Pretenders: For the time is past, and Inquiries are at an end, except People can be raised from the Dead; and can any Man believe, that two or three blind Papers, brought out of Holes and Corners, is sufficient to invalidate the concurring Judgment and Opinion of that very Age wherein the thing was done, and of those very Persons who had the best means of knowing the truth of it; and it is not the least Proof of the *Forgery of these Pretences*, that they were never trump't up, till that Generation was pass'd away, and all the Persons dead, who were immediately concern'd in it, or could speak any thing directly to it.

3. Consider the *Persons, and their Veracity*. They were Men, who could not be guilty of *Forgery themselves*, nor countenance it in others.

Dr.

Dr. Earle, who translated this Book into Latin; the Author of *Regii Sanguinis Clamor*; Dr. Bates, Dr. Perenchief, Mr. Sanderson, Sir William Dugdale, and many others, who have recorded this to Posterity, and affirm'd the King to be the true and only Author, they, nor any of them were ever accus'd of inventing false Stories, but stand in the Rank of the best Historians; and consider the King's Party all together, (*as a Party*) tho' this was objected to their Enemies, and justly too, yet it could never be fastened upon them. The Church of England always did, always will, stand clear of such Imputations; and it would be happy, if the other Party could as easily wash their Hands of it. The World is full of the Books written by her true Sons, and nothing of this kind can be found amongst them all. But this being already to well done to my hands by the Right Reverend Bishop Sanderson, I need only to quote his Words, which he delivers in his own Name, and in the Name of all the Party: Only I remark, that Bishop Sanderson himself was so well satisfied that this Book was genuine, that he undertook to translate it into Latin, and had gone half through it; but understanding Dr. Earle had undertaken it, he desisted. (*Wool's Athen. Oxon. pag. 214.*) And he had sufficient Opportunities of knowing it, waiting upon the King at *Hampton-Court*: and the *Ile of Wight*.

The Bishop's Words are these, after having condemn'd the unworthy Arts of printing Supposititious Writings, and counterfeiting Authors, (Preface, *ut supra*) he adds: *How they that are Guilty of such foul Play will be able to make Answer for their Iniquities before the Tribunal of the Great Judge at that his Day (i. e. yet they that do such things can really believe there is any such thing as a Day of Judgment to come) I leave to their own Judgments in this their Day to consider.* *As for us, qui leges colimus severiores, as we profess our natural aversion of all Forgery, and other-like unworthy and unchristian Attempts in any Person of whatsoever Persuasion he be, or for whatsoever End it be done; to we hold our selves religiously obliged to use all Exactness and Sincerity in the Publishing other Men's Works, by suffering every Author to speak his own Sense in his own Words; not taking the Boldness to change a Phrase or Syllable therein; at least, not without giving the Reader both Notice where, and some good Account also why we have so done.* These are the Words only of Bishop Sanderson, but the Sense is not his own only, but of the whole Church of England: and in particular of those who adhered to the Cause of King Charles the First. And I shall leave it to all considering Men, who have their Faculties free, and are not chain'd up with Prepossession, Prejudice and Obstinacy, whether it be possible to imagine that these Men can be capable of such inamous Practices, in downright Contradiction to their settled and avowed Principles, and mo-
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solen

solemn Proteſtations. However, I have ſet before the Reader, the Men, and their Principles and Practices; he hath *both the Parties* in view, and let him conſider them impartially, and then let him judge for himſelf, and ſpeak his Mind freely, which of the Two he thinks in his own Conſcience are the moſt likely to be *Guilty of Fraud and Forgery.*

An Account of the ſeveral Impreſſions, or Editions, of King **CHARLES** the Martyr's moſt Excellent Book, Intituled, *Icon Baſilike*, that have been Printed both without and with the Prayers at the End.

Theſe 30 of the Firſt Impreſſions or Editions of the King's Book, are Printed without the Prayers.

THE Firſt Impreſſion, in 12. printed *Anno Dom.* 1648. laſt Page 187. Contents one Leaf at the end.

The 2d. Impreſſ. in 8. prin. 1648. laſt pag. 269. Contents 2 leaves.

The 3d. Impreſſ. in 8. prin. 1648. laſt pag. 269. Contents 3 leaves.

The 4th. Impreſſ. in 12. prin. 1648. laſt pag. 269. Contents 3 leaves.

The 5th. Impreſſ. in 12. prin. 1648. laſt pag. 269. Contents 1 leaf.

The 6th. Impreſſ. in 8. prin. 1648. laſt pag. 268. Contents 2 leaves.

The 7th. Imp. in 8. reprinted in *R.M.* 1648. laſt p. 268. Cont. 2 leaves.

The 8th. Impreſſ. in 8. printed 1648. laſt pag. 270. Contents 3 leaves.

The 9th. Impreſſion, in 8. printed 1648. with only the *Lady Elizabeth's* Relation, laſt page 302. Contents two leaves.

The 10th. Impreſſion in 8. printed 1648. the laſt page 242.

The 11th. Impreſſ. in 8. prin. 1648. laſt pag. 302. Contents 2 leaves.

The 12th. Impreſſion, in 8. reprinted for *James Young*, 1648. laſt page 268. Contents 2 leaves.

The 13th. Impreſſ. in 12. prin. 1648. laſt pag. 164. Contents 1 leaf.

The 14th. Impreſſ. in 12. prin. 1648. laſt page 187. Contents 1 leaf.

The 15th. Impreſſ. in 12. prin. 1648. laſt pag. 225. Contents 2 leaves.

The 16th. Impreſſ. in 24. prin. 1648. laſt pag. 342. Cont. 2 leaves.

The 17th. Impreſſ. in 24. prin. 1648. no Figures, Contents 2 leaves.

The 18th. Impreſſ. in 8. prin. 1649. laſt pag. 204. Contents 1 leaf.

The 19th Imp. in 8. prin. at *Paris*, Engl. 1649. laſt p. 196. Cont. 1 leaf.

The 20th Impreſſ. in 12. prin. 1649. laſt pag. 264. with Epitaphs.

The 21st. Impreſſ. in 12. prin. 1649. laſt pag. 195. Contents 1 leaf.

The 22d. Impreſſion, in 12. printed 1649. (in Latin) laſt page 272. with Apothegms.

The 23d. Impreſſ. in 12. printed at the *Hague*, by *Sam. Brown*, 1649. (in Latin) laſt page 272. Contents 2 leaves.

The 24th. Impreſſ. in 12. prin. 1649. at the *Hague*, for *Williams* and *Eglesfield*, (in Latin) laſt pag. 272. Contents 2 leaves. **The**

- The 25th. Impression, in 12. printed (in Latin) 1649. last page 258.
 The 26th Impr. in 12. printed with the Works, 1649. last pag. 182.
 last p. 318.
 The 27th. Impress. in 24. printed at the *Hague*, by *Sam. Brown*, 1649.
 Cont. 4 Leaves.
 The 28th Impress. in 12. printed 1649, at *Cork*, by *Peter de Piennes*,
 last page 320. Contents 2 leaves.
 The 29. Imp. in 12. (in Latin by *Dr. Earle*) print. 1649. at the *Hague*,
 by *S. B. for Williams*, last pag. 252. cont. 1 leaf, together with an
 account of the King's Tryal, (Latin) dedicated to *K. Charles II.*
 The 30th Imp. in 8. prin. for *R. Royson* 1681. last pag. 256. Con. 1 leaf.

*These 27. of the Second Impressions or Editions of the King's
 Book, Printed with the Prayers.*

- T**HE First Impression, in *Octavo*, printed 1648. last page 270.
 the Prayers added in 1649.
 The 2d. Impression, in 24. printed 1648. last page 354.
 The 3d. Impress. in 24. printed 1649. last pag. 436. Cont. 2 leaves,
 with the Additions of the Prayers.
 The 4th. Impression, in 8. printed 1649. last page 258.
 The 5th. Impress. in 8. very large, the best, printed 1649, the last
 page 263. Contents 2 leaves.
 The 6th. Impress. in 8. prin. 1649, last pag. 256, with Apophthegms.
 The 7th. Impress. in 8. printed 1649. last page 247. Prayers added.
 The 8th. Impress. in 8. prin. 1649. last pag. 269. Contents 3 leaves.
 The 9th. Impress. in 12. printed 1649. with Apophthegms.
 The 10th. Impress. in 12. printed 1649. in Dutch.
 The 11th. Impress. in 12. printed 1649, in French, last pag. 442.
 Contents one leaf and half.
 The 12th. Impression, in 12. printed 1649. in French, last page 269.
 Contents 2 leaves, with some of his Works.
 The 13th. Impress. in 12. printed 1649. last p. 230. Contents 1 leaf.
 The 14th. Impress. in 12. printed 1649. last p. 260. Contents 1 leaf.
 The 15th. Impression, in 24. printed 1649. last page 226.
 The 16th. Impression, in 24. printed 1649. last page 175.
 The 17th. Imp. in 24. Printed 1649. last p. 354.
 The 18th. Impression, in 8. printed at the *Hague*, by *Sam. Brown*.
Reliquie Sacra Carolina, the Works of King *Charles I.* without
 Date, last page 119.
 The 19th. Impress. in 8. printed at the *Hague*, by *Sam. Brown*, 1651.
 last page 324.
 The 20th. Impression in 8. of the King's Works in two Volumes,
 printed 1659.
 The 21st. Impress. in 24. printed at the *Hague*, by *Sam. Brown*, in
 1657, the King's Works,

- The 22d. Impress. in 24. printed in 1651, with the King's Works.
 The 23d. Impress. in 24, reprinted in 1649. *Reg. M.* last pag. 181.
 Contents 2 leaves.
- The 24th. Impress. in 12. of the King's Works, printed in 1650, at the *Hague*, by *Sam. Brown*, with divers of His Majesty's Prayers, whereof the three last used by him in the time of his Restraint, were delivered to the Bishop of *London*, at his Death, from whom they were taken away by the Officers of the Army: And amongst these six Prayers, that entituled, to be said in Time of Captivity, and taken out of *Sir Philip Sidney's Arcadia*, is not one of them, however it came to be printed in some of them.
- The 25th. Impression in *Folio*, being the whole Works of King *Charles the I.* and by Order of King *Charles the II.* printed in 1662, for *R. Royston*.
- The 26th. Impression, in 8. large, printed in 1685. last page 272, for *R. Royston*.
- The 27th. Impression, in *Folio*, being the whole Works of King *Charles the I.* and by Order of King *James the II.* printed 1686.

AN APPENDIX;

Containing Copies of several Letters writ by King Charles the First's own Hand, during his Suffering and Imprisonment.

IT is fit to acquaint the Reader how I came by these Letters: That to the Prince, late King *Charles the Second*, was communicated to me by the Reverend Mr. *Hawes*, living near *St. James's, Westminster*; all the rest by Mr. *Horatio Hopkins*, a Gentleman now living at *Coventry*, to some of whose Ancestors they were written by the King himself; but that's best express'd in a Petition which the said Ancestor presented to King *Charles II.* and which I set down at large, to give the Reader satisfaction concerning the following Letters.

To the King's Most Excellent Majesty.

The humble Petition of George Hopkins, Esq; formerly of the Isle of Wight, but by the loss of his Fortunes by the late Rebellion in England, retired into Ireland. Sheweth,

THAT at the beginning of that Rebellion against the King, your Majesty's Royal Father of blessed Memory, your Petitioner's Father [*Sir William Hopkins* deceased, of the foresaid Island] and himself,

himself, were the first Persons, that declared, and engaged for the King in that Country; for which their House was one of the first Plundered in *England*.

THAT for their Services to his Majesty during the Rebellion, they have endured many long Imprisonments.

THAT when his Majesty was hurried into the *Isle of Wight*, and in Restraint there, they found a way of corresponding with his Majesty by Letter; and had the Honour of being entrusted in his Majesty's most important Affairs, until his (ever to be deplored) dying day.

AND THAT at the Treaty at *Newport*, when the King did them the Honour to chuse their House for his Court, they disbursed considerable Sums of Money (to the consumption of their poor Fortune, by Selling the Seat they lived in) to supply his Majesty's Occasions; as may be evidenced by threescore and six Letters of his Majesty's own Hand-writing, now in the Hands of your Majesty's poor Petitioner; some whereof having been formerly presented to your View, your Majesty was then graciously pleased, to give him a Troop of Horse in the standing Army of *Ireland*; to command the Earl of *Orrery* [when he went Lord Justice] to settle an Estate in Land upon him, and to grant him 2000 *l.* out of the Years Rent, payable unto your Majesty by the Adventures of that Kingdom: But in respect of the many Persons of greater Quality and Merit to prefer, the unsettlement of that Nation, as to the decision of Title of Lands, and the falling short of the Money aforesaid, nothing has been done according to your Majesty's gracious Intentions.

And there being now a way proposed unto your Petitioner, whereby your Majesty, with Justice and Honour, may relieve him, without diminishing your Revenue in Charge in any Office of your Majesty's Exchequer, publick Inconvenience, or particular Prejudice; and moreover, will be of future advantage unto your Majesty; The pressing Necessities of his Ruin'd Family, compel him to the Presumption of imploring your Majesty's gracious Grant thereof. And he shall pray, &c.

I shall not need to make many Observations concerning the following Letters; the Reader upon perusal will see, they have relation purely to the King's Person, and in particular during his barbarous Confinement in *Crisbrooke Castle*, under the Guardianship of Col. *Hammond*, whose Villany and Insolence to the King, is somewhat described in these Letters, and which justify the Character the King gave of him to Sir *Philip Warwick*, who at the Treaty, telling the King, that *Hammond* was going for *London*, and that then *Rolpb* and other evil Spirits were hanging about that place, and the King had

had best consider what danger it might bring him ; the King answer'd him, *I thank you for your Care, but the Governor is grown such a Rogue, we cannot be in worse Hands.* (Memoirs, p. 330.) Here is likewise an account of an Attempt and Design laid for the King's Escape, during his hard Imprisonment in *Carisbrooke* ; and if we could *uncipher the Figures*, then we should know, who those Loyal and Gallant Men were, who ventured so hard to rescue the King out of those barbarous Hands, and to set him at Liberty, when there was so much Danger in it, and such Guards set upon him. And if it could be done, it would be a very considerable part of the History, relating to the Life of King *Charles the First* ; and it is no where done so plainly, as in these Letters : For my part, I think it is clear, that by the Figure 50, is meant *Hammond* ; by 51, the King himself interprets *Marlborough* ; by 60, I believe is meant fresh Souldiers sent into the *Isle* ; by 54, some considerable Officer under *Hammond*, who had a mind to be honest ; by N. I believe is meant Mrs. *Whorwood*, and by 57 Mrs. *Wheeler* : I can go no farther, but that 39 is the King himself, 48 the Person he wrote to.

Here is besides an account, that no Historian, that I have seen, makes the least mention of ; and that is, That some time before the Treaty ended, the King had express and full Notice given him of a horrid Contrivance in the Parliament and Army, to seize the King, and to dispose of him, and that they had sent an express to *Cromwell* to that purpose, who was then in the *North*, and not return'd from his Victory over *Hamilton* ; and accordingly, because he was not return'd, and Matters not ripe, besides the 40 Days they first appointed for the Treaty, they added 14 days more to it ; and not being yet ready, they added 4 days more, and prolonged the Treaty to the 27th of *November* at night. The 28th the Commissioners for the Parliament return'd ; and the 29th the Soldiers seiz'd the King at *Newport*, being newly sent thither from the Army. Here was as great a piece of Treachery and Villany as ever was heard of, and as bad or worse, as any they themselves had been guilty of. To pretend a Treaty, and therein endeavouring to work the King to hard and dethroning Condescensions, and at the same time laying Trains for his Blood, and resolving to Murder him ! But notwithstanding the Closeness and Darkeness of their Contrivances, the King had good Notice of it, and had like to have been too hard for them, for this made him meditate an Escape, and he was in a fair way to have rid himself out of their Hands. But how it came to miscarry ; whether by Treachery, or by any other means, the Letters do not inform us. But this is a piece of remarkable History, that none of the Historians, who have wrote this King's Life, give any manner of account of, and which is fully and plainly express'd in these

these Letters. What other Information the King might have of this wicked Design, (and it is plain by the Letters that he had other) there is among these Letters a Letter written from another Person, subscribed by a counterfeit Name, and wrote either to the King himself, or to the King's Correspondent 48, giving account of that Design upon his Person, and what relates to the Plot is all in *Cypher*, but (what is remarkable) decypher'd by the King himself; and I pray the Reader to observe, that what is written over the Figures, is in the King's own Hand. The Letter it self is at length, among those Letters of the King's, dated in *October*; and to prevent Mistakes, I shall particularly mark that Letter, when it comes to be inserted among the other.

The last thing I shall observe concerning these Letters, is the wonderful Clearness and Plainness of the Style and Expression that runs through the whole: They were all written off hand, and many of them in the midst of great Hurry and Business, when, as there was no need, so there could not be expected any Care or Accurateness; and yet the Expressions are so clear and full, so perspicuously expressing the things he designed, that they can hardly be mended with all the Study and Care in the World; and I appeal to any Man, who understands things of this nature, and who himself hath been used to write accurately, and fairly considers the Letters, and the subject Matter they treat of, whether he will not conclude, that even in things written in Haste and with Carelessness, the King's Style is not great and majestic, and perfectly inimitable.

Great Pity it is, that all that came from the Hands of this Great Prince are not preserv'd, to the Honour of his Name, and for the Benefit of Posterity. For although the elaborate Works do justly bear the greater Figure, and are more splendid, yet all the rest shine bright too, and have their Lustre. The Filings and the Dust of Gold are precious, and nothing ever came from the Pen of this glorious and renowned King, but what is richly worth the Knowledge of all who reverence his immortal Name, and honour his Memory. Those Men have been thought to deserve well of the Commonwealth of Learning, who have collected and preserv'd, even the Fragments and broken Sentences of the ancient Greek and Latin Authors; and the preserving these Remains of the King, surely deserves as much of the *English Nation*. Two Authors of our own (besides the Collection of the great Volume of the King's Works) have already travail'd in this Path, viz. The Author of *Reliquæ Carolinae*, and *Bibliotheca Regia*, and have gather'd together, and publish'd, as many of the King's Papers and Letters, as they could possibly come to the knowledge of; and following such good Examples, I thought it a Duty owing to my Native Country, when I had so fair

fair an opportunity, not to keep this Treasure to my self, although I must at the same time confess, that my province was only transcribing them, and sending them to the Press; but all the Thanks is owing to those two Gentlemen before mentioned, who very frankly and generously communicated them to me, with free permission to make them publick.

Wednesday, July 12. 1648.

I Have this morning received the two Letters you sent me, with the Note of seven Names, with their Cyphers; of which I shall make use as you have directed me: I like very well that you should tell those Parties, who you think cannot keep Counsel, that their way is obstructed. Hoping to see you this day, (or to morrow at farthest) I will not now trouble you with divers Queries I have to make to you; only I desire you hereafter to subscribe 48; so, consequently when you see any of my Letters superscribed with the same Number, you may know it is to your self: Now I may be deceived, all this time, who it is, to whom I write; and because I desire not to hazard your Name, in a piece of Paper, I mean that Party who, on *Monday* night last, told me in general of that design, which you mention in the close of your Paper, which I find cut off at the bottom: What I have more to say, I refer until our meeting, which I desire may be soon.

Friday, July 14. 1648.

YOur two Notes of yesterdays date, came this morning to my hands; whereby I am cleared of some of my former Doubts, but I also find, that you think me more knowing in some particulars, than indeed I am; for, seriously, I know nothing of the Design you mention, but only what 47 told me on *Monday* last, which was only in the general; wherefore, I can give no opinion concerning the feasibility of it, nor assist you by my advice, how to perform it; unless I knew the particulars: All I can say for the present is, First, if it come to acting (how ignorant soever I be) be confident, that (by the Grace of God) I shall do my part, and will let slip no opportunity; then, I do well approve of *Marlborough* to be a chief Conductor, as for matter of Action, for I am confident of his Courage and Honesty; so, if the business be well laid, he may do as well as any other: In the last place, I desire you to consider, as well, of the *terminus ad quem*, to prepare for it, as I believe you have done, for the *terminus à quo*; desiring I may be acquainted with the Particulars of both; and then (and not till then) my Advice may be stedible unto you in this business: In the mean time, whatsoever assurance you would have me give

to 49; (or himself would desire, for his encouragement) he shall have it; this is all (until by answering this, you give me more subject, which I desire may be with all speed) at this time from your most assured Friend,

Hereafter know Marborough by 51. I have chosen the Number 39. because you know who is 40.

Sunday-morning, 16 July, 1648.

YOURS of the 14, which I received Yesternight late, hath reasonably well enabled me to give you my Advice, which is, That unless you secure 50. the Seizing of all the rest of the Horse, will not (in my Opinion) do the Work; because he will sooner get Help to recover his Loss, than you be able to force 39. out of his hands: Wherefore I advise, either to do both together, (which certainly is best, so that ye have a probable Certainty to be absolute Masters of this Island, and particularly of this Castle) or else, first to secure 50. by which means you may (as I believe) relieve 39. For, if the Business be dexterously handled, 50. may be made, for his own Safety, to suffer 39. to go to any Place that you will name, in this Island; but then there must be a Bark ready, (and one will do it as well as a thousand) that will follow 39's Directions. And thus, by either of these two Ways, my *Terminus ad quem* will be satisfied, as well as the *a quo*. Now, if my Brevity make me Obscure, or you find Difficulty in what I propose, I desire you to make your Queries, or Objections, freely to me: However, I pray you, let me know what you resolve on, and remember that Delays are dangerous. I shall send you Letters for 41 and 51 before to Morrow at Noon, according to 47's Desire, whom I hop'd to have seen before going to London, and desire to do, so it may be without Prejudice, not mine, for I can receive none, by my Friend's Favour, but they may; I cannot end without desiring you, not to judge, either of my Civility or Thankfulness, by my Writings; but, be confident that my Actions shall prove me to be both.

I shall be in pain, until I be sure that you have received this Letter, therefore I desire you to return me a speedy Answer: not it be only, that ye have received it; referring the rest until a farther time.

Sunday, 16 July, 1648.

I Send herewith the two Letters I promis'd you this Morning; that to 41. is in that Cypher, which I have with 47. Now, because I am not certain, whether or not, he have a Copy of it, I desire 47. to trust H. Seymer with my Desire concerning a Ship; and having no Cypher at all with 51. I have referr'd all Particulars to the Bearer, even unto my Name; all which I hope that 47. will do me the Favour to supply, with Conjururation of Secrecy to each

Party. For the present, I have no more to say, but that I expect to hear from you to Morrow.

39.

Monday, 17 July, 1648.

THis is only to tell you, that I have receiv'd this Morning your Yesterday's Letter, with the Pamphlets, being extream glad that you understand and approve of my Answer: I will say no more now. because I am going to write to some of my Friends in *London*, which I will send to you as soon as I have written them.

39.

Monday-night, 17 July, 1648.

THis inclosed is for 40, which I hope you will send away with all speed; I thought also to have sent you another Dispatch for some of my Friends in *London*, but being now too late, I cannot send it to you, until to Morrow in the Afternoon. I have desired my Friend to tell, that I was mistaken all this time in the Figure 47, for I meant one, and you another Party by it; wherefore hereafter let my Meaning stand good, and let 52 signify him whom you meant. And now I speak to 47, I desire you to tell me the reason why you went away so abruptly this Night, as to give me no time to bid you farewell: I know you are too civil to be so discourteous to your Friends; and I hope it is not the Cause that I suspect: For the Governour denies to have sent you any Message. However, indeed you shall do me a Favour, to write me the true Cause of it; for I shall be in pain until you resolve me, because I should be sorry to be the Occasion of the least Inconvenience to you. So God send you a good Journey.

39.

Tuesday, 18 July, 1648.

THis is the Packet of which I told you Yesterday and this Morning, desiring you to send it as soon as you may to *London*, according to the Supercription; for though, to deal truly with you, the first Name is fictitious, yet the rest is real, and will certainly find out my true Correspondent: I pray you let me know how soon it goes away. You need not stick for matter of Bulk, by this way of Conveyance; wherefore you shall do me a Kindness, to send me all the Pamphlets of News that you can get.

39.

Wednesday, 19 July, 1648.

I Am now well satisfied concerning the sudden Departure of 47; who I see hath more Civility, than 50 Honest-dealing; but I must not so much wrong my own Judgment, as to wonder at these Peoples Equivocations. As for my *London*-Dispatch, which I sent you Yesternight, I desire you to send it away by an Express; if you
can

can can find no other fit, present, Messenger. I have yet pretty store of Wafers; and when I want, I shall take the freedom to send to you for some; when you find me Seal with Wax, you may know it is after Supper. I pray you commend me to 47, and tell her, I am sure that 40 would not be displeased at, much less forbid her private Conferences with me; and that, (if she will not forbid me) I will try if I can make her Servant procure me freedom of Conference, hoping to do it with so much Discretion, that albeit I shall miss of my End, it shall not prejudice her. I desire to know when my *London*-Dispatch goes away, which I pray you hasten.

59.

Wednesday, 19 July.

I Am glad to find by yours of this Date, that you rightly understand me, and approve of my Opinion; and thank you for the Care you have taken in sending away my *London*-Dispatch; which will make me put you to the same Trouble. before the end of this Week; for this Day I have received a Packet from *London*: and because the Woman, who gives all the Dispatches to me, and receives all from me (with whom I speak but very rarely, and that by great chance) can neither write nor read: I gave her command, the last time I saw her, (which was about five Days ago) to give all my Letters to you; thinking you will rather be at the trouble of sending all my Packets to *London*, than to hazard the misconveying of one Letter. You do well to hearten these few Cattle-Men, who have some mind to be honest; as likewise not to impart your Counsels to them. He, who makes Excuses for other Men's Faults, will need but few Pardons; and I doubt not, but your Loss will be sooner repaired, than there will be need to use it.

39.

I told not the Woman your Name, but upon the receipt of one of your Letters, bad her send all mine to him, from whom she had that last.

48.

Friday, 21 July, 1648.

TO save a double Labour, I deferred the answering yours of *Wednesday* last, (which I received Yesternight after Supper) until now, that I had ended my *London* Dispatch, which I desire you to send away with all convenient speed, and let me know when it is gone: I thank you for the News you sent me in your inclosed Note, confessing to you, that it is not altogether strange to me; hoping, that if such a Guest should come, you would use him kindly: But of this you know, now, almost as much as I; for the freshest Letter I have had from 40 was of above 6 Weeks Date. Commend me to 47, and tell her, that 50 fell flat on his Back, walking by me upon *Wednesday* last; which I say was a Punishment for

his Incivility to her, and Equivocating to me. At this time I have no more to say, but heartily to thank you for your cheerful Compliance with my Desires.

48.

Sunday morning, 23 July.

39.

Yours of Yesterday-morning I received Yesternight immediately before Supper; for which I heartily thank you, not only for your careful and diligent sending away those Dispatches you have received from me; but also for providing a continued way of Inter-course betwixt my *London*-Friends and me; wherein, since 49 gives you so good Assistance, (as likewise in the other great Business) it is great reason that I give him such Encouragement as you advise: Wherefore I have thought fit to write to him this inclosed, which is only Thanks in General, referring Particulars to you; for the Expressions, I leave to you; only let them be hearty and kind, generals, suitable to the humour and quality of the Man, remembering to interpret his, yours, and my Cyphers to him. I shall not trouble you with any more Dispatches to my Friends, until I hear from them; and I wonder that I have had no Return of my Dispatch I made to 45, which was dated the 6th of this Month; I know it went safe from hence, for 47 told me so herself. As to the main Business, I will only ask you, Do you not mean (when your Preparations are made) as well to seek an Opportunity, by laying a Train for 50, as to lay hold of one, when he gives it you? Then, how you go on, in your Preparations? I thank you for the printed News desiring you still to continue the sending of such.

48.

Wednesday, 26 July. 1648.

39.

I Have received two from you, since I wrote any to you; the former requiring no Answer, I expected for the coming of this last, (which I received this Morning) but I find it of such Weight, that I must sleep upon it, before I can give you a determinate Resolution concerning it; all which for the present I can say, is, That there is no Fear for the Security of my Person, during the Attempt; leave it to me, I will undertake that. But the Question is, first, If probably you can Master this Place? Then, How long you can make good the Island? I am now going to read some Papers, which I received this Morning from *London*: So that, before, or by Friday at night, I will send you both my Resolution concerning this Business; as also a Packet for some of my Friends beyond the Water.

I thought fit herewith to send you an addition of some Figures, with Names.

39.

48.

48.

— Thursday, 27 July 1648.

I Am glad to understand that 52 is returned; and the truth is, that my Friends Opinions, and my Thoughts, do very much agree, as to the Greater Design; to remedy which, I know no other way, but for me to write a Letter of Credit to 41's Brother, with a trusty Messenger, that *vice voce* may propound the Business to him; which I am confident he will chearfully undertake: As for 41. himself, he is otherways employed, and must not be sent to; but his Brother I believe expects some such Call as this, and I suppose that 52. is the fittest Person for this Employment; upon your Approbation of this, I shall prepare my Letter. The Packet I received Yesterday, was from *David Griffin*, in answer to the former of your Expresses; the Party I mean by that Name, is none of these in your Note. I am not yet edified with the Fitness for me to propose for a Personal Treaty, for it looks too like Begging for Liberty; but shortly Occasions may so fall out, as to make it councilable, until you tell me whom you mean by my Little Officer of the Parliament-Side, and what Narrative he means by, I can say nothing to his Proposition. I hope before this you have received my Yesterdays Letter.

48.

Saturday, 29 July. 1648.

39.

I Am very glad you approve of sending 52 to 41's Brother, (whom hereafter I shall name by 58.) and accordingly I have herewith sent you a Letter of Credence; wherein I have only named the Business, leaving all Particulars to 52. to whom I have given a full Testimony for Trust. Now, as for his Instructions, I must clearly leave to you, who knows the Particulars of this Business much better than I can do. As for the particular Case mention'd, I believe that it will not fall out; but if it do, after that 48. and 51. have understood the Importance of this Design, and Feasibility of it, I must leave it to their Judgments, to do as they shall find fittest for my Service: But I know no Provision against such an Accident, unless we could put the lesser Design in Execution, by laying a Train for 50. The Letter I sent *Seymer* for 41. now must not go; because, in a sort, it may seem to contradict this Dispatch. To conclude this Point, there is no more to do, but to send 52. speedily away, well instructed (which I leave and recommend to you) unto 58. and to encourage the Honest Men of this Island to be constant in their Good Intentions. What was told your Messenger, by the Man of the House, concerning *David Griffin*, was merely a Disguise; but I am confident, that this Dispatch, which I herewith send you for him, will make him trust this Conveyance, tho' he neither does, nor shall know my Factors in this way.

39.

48

48. *Tuesday, 1. Aug. 1648. Afternoon 4 a Clock.*

Your slow Answer to my Dispatch of *Saturday* last, made me afraid that our Intelligence had been disordered; so that your Yesterdays Note, which I received this Morning, I assure you, was very welcom unto me. I hope 52. will have a speedy Journey, for your Information concerning 58. is most true. You will find by the Indorsement of this inclosed to *Griffin*, that he hath changed his Lodging, but it is for the better; and if you will direct your Messenger to stay for an Answer, I believe he will now have one; the reason why the others had none, was, because he came but seldom to the former Place, only leaving Directions to receive Packets. I desire you to haste this away, it being of more Importance than any other of *Sunday* was; for in this I have written to 41. in Recommendation of 52. and his Employment; it being most necessary, because for certain 41. and 58. are both together, and not like to part Company; but concerning this, what I have written to 41. is all in Cypher; and not a Word to any body else.

I do not well understand the meaning of your Postscript, how these of 53 improve every Day.

39.
48. *Wednesday, after Supper, 2 August.*

I Thank you for the careful sending away of my Packets, but wonder I have had none this Day from *Griffin*, for methinks he should have sent me word of that News which 49. have given you Notice of; wherefore I fear lest some Letter coming to me may have miscarried. Now as to the Alteration of the Scene upon this News, to deal freely with you, I have no great hopes that much Good will come of it, because I do not believe that those who come to Treat will have Power to debate, but only to propose; besides, what Capacity a Prisoner hath to Treat, as yet I know not. Wherefore hold Dispositions as they were, and let not Men be deceiv'd with a Mock-Treaty, for so this yet seems to me, I pray God I be mistaken.

Remember to send Pamphlets. I understood the Cypher, but mistook your Phrase.

39.
48. *Thursday, 3 August, at Night.*

HAVING this Day been visited by a Friend, with whom I had not time to speak unto, I must desire you to deliver this inclosed Note unto her; assuring you, that you may freely trust her in any thing that concerns my Service; for I have had perfect tryal of her Friendship to me. I have now no more to say, but that the speedy delivery of this to Mrs. *Whorwood*, (who is this Friend I mentioned) will be no small Courtesy.

Tell her, that I expect an Answer, either by Word or Writing. 39.

48.

Friday-morning, 4 August.

Your Trouble at this time, is caused by my Obligations to another Friend, to whom I could not acquit my self as I ought to do, without this favourable Assistance from you, of delivering this inclosed Note unto the same Party to whom I sent you one Yesternight; which is occasioned upon a Discourse which I had this Morning with 50. otherwise I would not have put you to this second Trouble, and I assure you that a speedy Account of this will be of much Satisfaction to

39.

48.

Friday after Supper, 4 August.

I Thank you for the good Account which I received from you, even now, of the three last Letters I sent you; and am in good hope, (by some Letters I received Yesterday from 48.) that 52. will have a quick dispatch of his Business. This inclosed is for the same Friend which my two last were, in Answer to what I received within yours this Night, which I desire you to deliver with your accustomed Care and Diligence, hoping to have an Account of this by to Morrow at Night.

39.

48.

Saturday at 10 at Night, 5 August.

I Thank you for giving so good and quick Account of my Letters, which make me still put you to the same Trouble; this inclosed being to the same Friend my last was; I thank you also for the Prints; and do intend by my next to send you a New Concept of mine, concerning our Great Business.

39.

48.

Sunday afternoon, 6 August.

I Much approve of, and heartily thank you, for the staying of my Friend to long in this Isle; who, as you say, I believe may be of excellent Use for our Great Business; and therefore by this inclosed I have desired her, to have a little more Patience; and I also intreat you to deal freely with her; tell her particularly, how her stay may be useful to me, as to the securing of 50. As soon as I hear what the three London-Commissioners say to me, I will perform the Promise I made to you Yesternight; in the mean time, you shall do well to keep all Affections straight.

39.

I long to have an Answer to this, for I have written very freely to my Friend.

48.

Monday after Supper, 7 August

This Morning I had a Dispatch from you, in which there were Letters from some of my Friends in London, a Note of some Figures and Names, and a good Account of those Letters which I wrote Yesterday and the Day before unto you; and even now I received your other written this Day, with one from my Friend N. to which this inclosed is an Answer; and am well satisfied with those Hints the hath given me, of which I doubt not but to make good Use.

being

being also very willing that you should enlarge upon those Arguments; for Advice from my Friends may do me Good, but never Harm. As for the broken Cover, when I seal with Wafers, as I did then, my Seal sometimes being hard prest, sometimes breaks the Paper, as I remember that was; but I thought, when it was fully dried, it would have stuck together, thanking you for taking notice of it to me, for hereafter it will make me take the more care. I pray you give my Friend *N.* a Copy of all those Names and Figures I have with you.

48.

Thursday, after Supper, 10 August.

I Thank you for sending me so good Auditors, and I cannot doubt of their being well pleased; for I assure you, that the Commissioners are gone away very well satisfied, and are in good hope to return speedily a Satisfactory Answer to all that the King hath demanded. I thank you likewise for the quick dispatch of my last Dispatch: But as for the New Guide, I know not what it means, for I order nothing in that kind; all that I do, is to put my Letters in a Secret Place; and saving the Person that takes them from thence, I know nothing of their Journeys; therefore you shall do well to take care of those Circumstances, for I cannot. Tell *N.* that what she desired concerning the City of London, is already done in my last Dispatch.

64. — *Treaty.* This Figure was left void of a Name; therefore I thought fit to fill it.

39.

48.

Saturday-night, 12 August.

I Send you herewith, according to my Promise, a Copy of the King's Answer to the Proposition for a Treaty, which I pray you send back as soon as you have taken a Copy of it.

39.

48.

Sunday-afternoon, 13 August.

Yours of Yesterday, with one from *N.* and some Pamphlets, was very welcom to me in divers respects; they telling me some good News, of which I heard not before, and confirming others to me.

Tell *N.* (when you give this inclosed to her) that it is now the best Caudle I can send her; but if she would have a better, she must come to fetch it herself; and yet, to say truth, her *Platonick* Way doth much spoil the Taste in my Mind; and if she would leave me to my free Cookery, I should think to make her confess so herself.

I hope you will have received the Copy, before this comes to you; the chief Cause why I desire the return of it, is because I have no other.

48.

Monday, after Supper, 14 August.

39.

This Morning I received back the Copy of my Answer, now I send you a Packet to *Griffin*, which I desire you to speed away unto him, giving me an Account when it is gone. Tell *N.* that I spoke to me this Morning about her Business; but I told him, that

if

if she came to me herself, I would give her an Answer, but to no body else; because I thought unreasonable to give any Answer to Business, except to those, who might speak freely to me themselves. This is all at this time from

48. ^{39.} Tuesday-morning, 15 August. 1648.

Yours of Yesterday-morning came this, by which it much satisfies, to find that you are so well pleased with the Paper I sent you, for you know from whom *Bonum est laudari*. I also thank you for the good Account you give me of all my Letters. This inclosed is an Answer to N. and tell her, that she neither dated this last, nor gave a full Answer to mine. But I lay the Fault on so's Doggedness to her, and no want of Civility to me. As for yourself, be sure, when 39. keeps House again, there will be those who shall think then themselves happy; and yet sit lower at the Table than 48. and be confident, that this shall be made good by

48. ^{39.} Tuesday, after Supper, 15.

I Thank your Diligence, in compliance with all my Desires, and the good Account you give me of them, and not a little for your Piece of Entertainment; and seriously I know not whether he is more Fool or Knave, for he lyes most abominably of me; nor could I think that he could write so much Nonsense; for sometimes he can speak to purpose. I pray you commend my Service to all my Feminine Friends, and tell 47. that I hope she believes that I never recommended 57. in earnest to her; but it was merely to have by his means, sometimes the Conversation of such Honest Persons as herself; and truly, for that end, she shall do well, not to put him in despair. Tell N. when you deliver this inclosed, that I see she will in time learn to answer Letters, but yet she mistakes Dates; for she called this the 14th. and that I expect an Answer to this.

48. ^{39.} Wednesday, after Supper, 16 August.

When you deliver this inclosed to N. I pray you tell her, that I shall be in much Impatience, until I receive an Answer to this little Letter.

48. ^{39.} Thursday-afternoon, 17 August.

It is true that I have had the Pamphlets of the last Week, for this Morning I have received a Dispatch from Griffin, dated on Monday last; but, to my great wonder, I found that mine of the 9 h of this Month was not then come to him; wherefore I desire you to inquire where the Fault was: this inclosed to 47. I likewise received, to whom I pray you commend me, and tell her that I shall be more

willing, and full as ready to do her a real Service-, as this small Courtesy of conveying this Letter to her; and to N. that I expect an Answer to this inclosed, and desire her to mark well the Postscript.

48.

Thursday-night, 17 August.

MY haste this Day to return N. a speedy Answer, made me slip something which since I have remembred; and therefore again I put you to this Trouble, hoping that by the Morrow at Night I shall have Answer from her of both together.

48.

Friday-afternoon, 18 August.

Yours of Yesterday I even now received, having thereby, I thank you, received a good Account of all my Directions; and am very glad to understand, that 52. hath escaped all his Danger; concerning whom I have nothing to say, but that his Addressee must be now wholly to 41. and not to 58. and to tell him what 60. are come to 54. as for 64. if real, 41. will do nothing in Prejudice; otherways he will know how to act. Now as for N. thank her for the good News she sent me; deliver this inclosed, and desire her to remember her Promise.

48.

18 August, at Night.

I This Day received two little Packets from you; the former already, now this is answered. I like well your Addition of Names. Deliver this inclosed to N. as soon as you can, if, before it come to you, she be not gone to a Visit; in that Case, keep it until her return.

48.

Sunday-afternoon, 20 August. 1648.

Yesternight I had a voluminous Dispatch from London, with great complaints of the slowness of your Messenger, wherefore I desire you to take order with 49. that there be more diligence used hereafter: Also a Letter from N. to which this inclosed is an Answer; against whom and your Wife I have a Quarrel, for being here Yesterday, and not seeing me; but an easy Satisfaction will content me, tho' some I must have. For News, I refer you to N. expecting an Answer both from you and her, by to Morrow-morning, before Noon.

48.

Sunday-night, 20 August.

I Have by this inclosed desired N. not to send her Horseman, until I send you my Packet for London; I am glad to hear that 54. is so well disposed, and that so little reckoning is made of 60. that are already here, hoping that 54. shall have rather fewer than more of that Generation.

48.

Monday after Supper, 21 August.

YOU and *N.* have fully answered mine of Yesternight; but a Fox on 50: for I think the Devil cannot out-go him; neither in Malice nor Cunning: but I believe, before this comes to you, you will hear more of his Praise from *N.* to whom when you deliver this inclosed, desire her to return an Answer as soon as she may. I thank you for returning my Paper; and that of yours speaks my Heart. I cannot end my *London-Packet* before to Morrow-night; so that you cannot have it before Wednesday-morning, but then I desire you to give it a quick Dispatch.

48.

Tuesday, August 22, after Supper.

This is the dispatch for *London*; that I told you of, which I pray you send away with all possible Diligence and Care, that it be not long in going: Likewise herewith I have sent *N.* some fresh News, this day come from *London*, which she will shew you; and so I desire a speedy account of this Dispatch,

48.

Wednesday morning, August 23.

I have received *N.*'s sad Story; and seriously I could not have believed that so much Barbarity could have been in any body, that pretended to be Gentleman; and therefore in Charity I thought my self obliged to return her a consolatory Letter herewith; which is all my business at this time, expecting an account of yesternight's Dispatch,

48.

Wednesday night, August 23.

I thank you for the quick dispatch of my Packet, and like very well your Caution; for certainly all sort of Barbarity is to be expected from 50: And it is some little consolation, that this, in despite of him, I converse with those Friends, with whom he dears to speak with,

48.

Thursday forenoon, August 24.

Indeed *N.* had reason to desire a speedy Answer; and I hope by this inclosed she hath it to her Contentment: And it was reason she should have it; for hers to me gave me much,

48.

Thursday afternoon, August 24.

Herewith I send to *N.* that which I promis'd her by my Letter this morning, expecting an account of that other business, which she hath put me in hope of,

48. *Friday morning, August 25.*

SLight Mistakings upon Relations cannot make me chide my Friends; the finding of the Error being a sufficient mends; it being little or no Shame (especially now a-days) *Mendacium dicere*; for it would too much hinder Conversation, strictly to be tyed to tell nothing but Truths; I mean as to Reports: Wherefore I leave N. to your chiding, and desire a speedy Answer from her to this inclosed, and particularly to the Postscript,

39.

48. *Friday afternoon, August 25.*

THis is my second to you and N. this day, though I believe this last needed not, yet I would not so much as seem lazy to my Friends; and you know Repetitions, especially to some sort, are very grateful. Tell N. that notwithstanding her often Writing, yet she is in my Debt as to punctual Answering,

39.

48. *Saturday forenoon, August 26.*

I Can well distinguish between Gentlemen and Merchants Humours; the shifting of the one shall not make me mistake the other: All Diurnals are forbidden to be shewn me; yet I shall pump so as well as I may. Tell N. that she shall have no more Pardons, without answering more punctually to my Letters, beginning with this inclosed,

39.

48. *Sunday after supper, August 27.*

I Was forced to speak a little big, before so would acknowledge my freedom; but at last hath done it in the general; and if in the Particulars he offers to retract, then he shall hear me on the dearest side of his Head; and I believe that within these few days, I shall put him to some tryal,

39.

48. *Tuesday after supper, August 29.*

Here I send you the Packet for London, that I desired N. to tell you of, praying you that it may be speeded away with a Messenger that will not loiter; and when you deliver this other to N. thank her for the Visit she stole upon me yesternight, for seriously I scarce believed my own Eyes when I saw her. I intend on Thursday to make you a Visit, but I desire you not to take notice of it, until so send you word of it, for yet I have not told him,

39.

48. *Wednesday at night, August 30.*

Though I believe that I shall be with you near as soon as this Letter, yet I cannot but give you thanks for the quick dispatch of

of

of my Packet : Also tell *N.* that I shall be willing to see her to morrow her own way ; and so after dinner shall expect your Key,
*I could wish that *so* would stay at home, but cannot hope it.* 39.

48. *Saturday after supper, September 2.*

THE Friend you sent me this day gave me a chiding, and yet I will not complain; for there was more Justice than Malice in it : It was, because I did not look kind enough upon 49, on *Thursday* last at your House ; for the truth is, that I had so many things that day in my Head, that I wonder not though every one thought that I looked doggedly on them ; wherefore I desire you to assure 49 from me that no sower Looks was intended for him, but all Kindness : I desired *N.* to make a Proposition to you in my Name ; if she have not, call to her for it ; and if she hath, I pray give me your opinion of it,

Remember *N.* 39. *to send me back what I lent her this day.*

48. *Sunday night, September 3.*

WHEN next I see 49, I shall satisfy him as you advise : As for what I proposed to you by *N.* it is yet but in *Embrio*, and I confess well to be thought on, before resolved ; for what she said to you, was rather to set your Thoughts on work, than to make a Judgment as to any Resolution : Wherefore I desire you to think well of it, and at the first opportunity I shall enlarge my self upon it, either to you, or some of those few, who are fit to know of such a business : In the mean time all that can be done, is to keep 54 in right Inclinations, which I know you will endeavour,

39. *This inclosed to *N.* is my opinion concerning her Journey, and that is quod dubitas ne feceris.*

48. *Tuesday morning, September 5.*

THOUGH I intend this afternoon to be at *Newport*, yet in the mean time I think fit to tell you, that you may freely trust Sir *Edward Walker*, whom I have commanded to communicate all things freely with you ; as also to give *N.* a short Answer to the long, wise Discourse she sent me,

39. *Wednesday night, September 6.*

I Could not choose but give a chiding to *N.* by this inclosed, for not giving me a Visit with the rest of the Ladies this night ; to which at least I expect an Answer,

39.

CHARLES

CHARLES. *Newport, Tuesday, October 3. 1648.*

Yours By *Ondart* I received upon *Sunday* last, and am very well satisfied with your account, and this relation; only I somewhat wonder that you give me no account of my last Letter, which was of the 6th of *September* our *Stile*, wherein I gave you a conditional advice concerning 563, 528, 456, of which you was then more able to judge than I; but now being at some more freedom, I hope shortly to give you a reasonable clear advice: As for my Directions to you at this time, the issue of this Treaty must be your chief Guide; in the mean time, cherish the Fleet as much as you may, and stay where you are, until you hear farther from me, or that you find you cannot hear from me; and in that case, you are to guide your self according to your best Intelligence, in order to my relief: And now I must command you to answer me freely to a Question, (I am confident that you will not dissemble with me) which is, if 615, 211, 179, 217, 52, 5, 25, 62, 557, 24, 9, 29, 32, 56, 1, 34, 19, 6, 20, 34, 26, 347, 15, 23, 33, 53, 345, 509, 447, 328, 27, 5, 49, 71, 448, 340, 275, 350, 328, 345, (36, 563, 22, 1, 39, 5, 51, 37, 15, 7, 72, 61) 10, 9, 285, 404, 277, 615; to this I would have your speedy resolution, for I am told that lost time now in it, will not be recovered, and I believe it may be of much advantage to my Service, wherefore it were pity to let slip this opportunity; so referring you to *Ondart* for a relation of this Treaty, I rest

Your loving Father

CHARLES R.

I earnestly recommend Sir William Compton (the Earl of Northampton's Brother) to you; and this I do without the least sollicitation; only hearing that he is where you are, I must command you to cherish him, for there is not a gallanter Youth in the World.

My Sister hath desired me to thank you and your Brother for your respects to her, which indeed is well done, for her Affection truly speaks her my Sister.

The following Letter was written by another Person, giving an account of a design between the Parliament and Army to seize the King's Person, which, with other Informations to the same purpose, made him endeavour an Escape. And note that which is in Cypher, was decypher'd by the King himself; and what is written over the Figures, is the King's own hand. The whole Letter is as follows.

I Shall give you no account of my Travels, it being a subject for the Variety of Accidents (and especially Dangers) that may more become

become a Romance than Letter, but wearied with a bad Journey I safely concluded it about 10 this morning, since when I have bestir'd my self in something satisfactory concerning the present Occurrents; and have discover'd that an absolute comply is therefore insisted on, because not probably expected from the King, and without it no acquiesce on the Parliament's part. You will give me leave to fool it a little, so it be in Figures; which to unlock, my dear Friend 391 (upon my request made to him) will I know lend you

a notable design, to which are agreed the Army and his Key: There is 21, 268, 94, 136, 337, 362, 217, 15, 72, 85, Parliament.

an Expressis sent
291. And by concurring Counsaills, to which end 93, 151, 218, to Cromwell to dispose of his Majesty,

323, 337, 60, 44, 2, 49, 372, 337, 143, 20, 41, 65, 18, 281, 192, many here with (for his Friends in the City are numerous) that the King would throughly concede, to prevent Dangers incumbering; but I fear, if Good be not intended him, no condescension of his can

If then he will be him to his Escape,
abort it. 219, 338, 5, 195, 375, 104, take 200, 337, 192, 422, let him do it on *next,*

244, 200, 144, 217, 282, Thursday or Friday 53, 161, 24, but by *out of some Door and not from the top of the House,*

all means 284, 281, 326, 57, 2, 41, 35, 268, 171, 338, 24, 52, *Ladders,*

47, 281, 338, 6, 4, 358, by the help of 64, 26, 63, 57, 27, 70, 66, *by some near him.*

for I have heard too much of that way talk'd of, 103, 326, 5, 15, 90, 230. Further I desire none may be trusted herewith, but 336, *your Son and Levett. The Prince of Orange*

65, 282, 85, 31, 32, 3, 217, 23, 338, 290, 281, 255, 93, 337, *a Ship,*

will not fail I know to send 39, 11, 65, 58, 25, 26, but I have too great reason to apprehend, if he rely thereon, his Intention will be made frustrate, as not coming time enough. I have given some Overtures to him, which you giving him the sense, or sight of this Letter, may as you see cause advance. For your own particular,

the Governor's of his Majesty's
I have such grounds of 338, 182, 65, in disgust 281, 192, 66, *bring you into any*
Escape, 422, as if perform'd shall never 108, 384, 216, 337, 86, *Exam-*

ation about it;
26, 4, 223, or Trouble 21, 9, 284, 217, yet I shall not be so pre-

remptory herein, as to cast your Discretion, if you be otherwise disposed for your Security. I shall not torment you with long Com-

pliments, but if by your return I receive assurance of this Convoy, I shall be ready in this or any kind of Command to shew how really I am,

Your most affectionate *Hellen*.

48.

Saturday night, October 7.

This is so safe a way of deliverance, that I will not trouble myself with my slow Hand: Though I doubt not of your Care in expediting that business, whereof I spoke to you this morning; yet I cannot but tell you, that you cannot make ready too soon, for by what I have heard since I saw you, I find that few days will make that impossible, which now is feasible. Wherefore I pray you, give me an account as soon as you can; *First*, where I shall take Boat? (spare not my walking, in respect of security) Then, how the Tyde falls out? or whether, in case the Wind do serve, it be necessary to look to the Tides? What Winds are fair? What may serve? And what are contrary? Consider also, if a Pass from so may not be useful. *Lastly*, how soon all will be ready, and what the Impediments are which rests: To all this a speedy Answer is expected, by

39.

I shall order the time of Night as you shall judge most convenient.

48.

Sunday, at Night, 8 Octob.

I Was mistaken, and you are in the right, but I found my Error, before your Letter came to me, and resolved just as you advised; and accordingly you will hear to Morrow, that I have given full Satisfaction concerning the *Militia*, with which I have yet acquainted no living Soul but yourself; for even 42. suspects nothing less, so that I am confident these Rubs you have found will be taken away. In a word, as you so love my Safety, go on cheerfully with your Preparations; for I cannot make good what I now put them in hope of, only I durst not dissemble in Point of Conscience, which they care so little for, that I hope they will not break with me for it, as by divers ways of Intelligence I understand: Again, I desire you to haste the Work I have set you upon. Lose no Time, and give daily an Account how you proceed therein, to

39.

I am so careful to keep this Business secret, that I resolve to acquaint no Man with it, but at the Instant when I am to act.

48.

Monday-night, 9 Octob.

I Pray you rightly to understanding my Condition (which I confess Yest. night I did not fully enough, through want of time)

it is this : Notwithstanding my too great Concessions already made, I know, that unless I shall make yet others, which will directly make me no King ; I shall be at best, a Perpetual Prisoner. Besides, if this were not, (of which I am too sure) the adhering to the Church, (from which I cannot depart, nor not in Shew) will do the same : And, to deal freely with you, the great Concession I made this Day, was merely in order to my Escape, of which, if I had not Hope, I would not have done ; for then I could have returned to my straight Prison without reluctance : But now I confess it would break my Heart, having done that which only an Escape can justify. To be short, if I stay for a Demonstration of their farther Wickedness, it will be too late to seek a Remedy ; for my only Hope is, that now they believe that I dare deny them nothing, and so be less careful of their Guards. Wherefore, as you love my Safety, let us dispatch this Business as soon as we can, without expecting News from London. And let me tell you, that if I were once abroad, and under Sail, I would willingly enough hazard the Three Pinnaces. To conclude, I pray you believe me, (and not the Common Voice of Mankind) that I am Lost if I do not Escape, which I shall not be able to do, if (as I have said) I stay for farther Demonstrations. Therefore : For God's sake hasten with all the Diligence you can, and give a Daily Account to

39.

I expect a particular Account of those Queries I sent you by the first Note I wrote to you about this Business.

Upon my Word, N. knows nothing of this Business, nor shall, not out of Mistrust, (for I cannot be more confident of any) but to keep my Rule, of not putting more upon such a great Secret as this, than is of absolute Necessity. Again, I pray you to be quick and diligent in Freeing of me.

Tell N. that I cannot Answer that Letter, before to Morrow.

48 Tuesday-afternoon, October 10.

WHAT I wrote Yesternight, was not to add Spins, but really to give you the true State of my Condition ; and as I have freely trusted you with the greatest Secret I have, in regard to your Fidelity ; for the Feasibility, I shall trust to your Judgment. It were a wrong to my Confidence and your diligence, more to exhort you : Wherefore, this is only to tell you that I find it necessary, to acquaint this Bearer, *George Kirke*, my oldest and most trusty Servant with this great Secret, both to ease my pains of Writing, and for the better Adjusting of all Particulars : And so I refer you to what he shall say to you from

39.

The procuring of a Dutch Pink, would make all fine.

C. C.

48

48.

Monday, October 16.

Your Intelligence concerning the Power of the Commissioners is certainly mistaken, tho' I believe they have a great Influence as to the Resolutions of the Houses at *Westminster*; but assuredly they have no Power here, but only to Propose and receive Answers. I shall hold out as long as possibly I may, but it cannot be long; for the Business of the Church and my Friends come so fast upon me, that I cannot promise you a Week; therefore lose no time.

39.

48.

Tuesday after Supper, 17 October.

Excuse my Impatience, that I desire you to give me an Account where the Business sticks; for I assure you, that I shall have but few Days free to Act my Part. I need say no more; but let me know what is possible to be done, and then it is for me to judge.

39.

I assure you, my Friends abroad desire my Freedom (if it be possible) more than myself; being confident thereby in a great measure, to alter the Face of Affairs.

I send you this Note open, because of the Trust of the Bearer.

48.

Monday, 30 October.

THE Ill News from *London*, makes me at this time, desire an Account of 52's Proceedings. Believe me, I shall very speedily be put to my Shifts, or Coopt-up again; wherefore, if you can conveniently, I would speak with you this night After-Supper.

39.

38.

Thursday, after Supper, 9 November.

THO' you dare not to be too confident (for which I cannot blame you) of *Newland*, yet, if you have no just Cause of Diffidence, I would trust him without any more Tryals, than to know of him how he can pass the Examination of the Sea-Guards; for, I cannot think any Man so great a Devil, as to betray me; when it is visible, that he will gain more for being Honest, than being a Knave. I should be very sorry, that your exposing yourself to this Eastern Wind should do you any harm, but it makes me the more beholding to you, nor shall I forget your daily Pains and Hazards for my Service. In the mean time, I hope that this Wind, which probably may bring me good Luck, will do you no Harm. At this time I will say no more; but if the Ship come, I like that Way best, yet if she come not quickly, I must take some other Way; for I daily find more and more reason to Hasten; and even since Supper, I have it from a sure Intelligence, that the Business of *Ireland* will break all; wherefore I must stay no longer than towards the end of this next Week, if so long. So that you must Act accordingly

APPENDIX.

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accordingly, and upon *Levet's* return (which I hope will be on *Saturday*) I must set a Day.

48. *Sunday, 12 Novemb. after Supper,* 39.
THat you may give me the fuller Account to Morrow at Night, I desire you to inform yourself of the Tydes, and also of the Horse-Guards, both how they are placed, and what Rounds they ride. This is all now, but when you come, I will propose some Considerations unto you; how to prevent Accidents.

48. *Friday, 8 Decemb.* 39.
THO' this be to ask, more than to give, yet I believe, how unequal soever, you will not refuse the Exchange, or Bargain, call it which you will; that is to say, a great deal of News, for very little; for all I can send you, is, that the King is closely kept, and civilly used. Commend me to *N.* to whom at this time I do not write, because this is only to shew you both, how to correspond with me, which I desire may be speedily, and often. So I rest,
Your most affectionate Friend,

39.
I have all my Cyphers, wherefore you and N. may write freely to me, yet I would have ye use as little Cypher as ye may; but I pray you, let me hear from both of you as soon as you can, by this Conveyance.

48. *Saturday, 30 Decemb. 1648.*
YOurs of the 28 of this Month I received Yesterday, with one from *N.* to which this inclosed is an Answer. I had also that former Packet, of which you make mention in this. I am glad you have found so good a way of sending to me, for now I shall still expect a continuation of Correspondency with you, which will be of great Contentment to

39.

F I N I S.

ERRATA.

PReface, p. 33. l. 39. for *commedation*, read *commendation*. Book, p. 23. l. 29. for *unreasonableness*, read *reasonableness*; l. 31. for *Men* read *Man*. Books

Books lately Printed for Richard Wilkin, at the King's-Head
in St. Paul's Church-Yard.

AN impartial Enquiry into the Causes of Rebellion and Civil War in this Kingdom: In an Examination of Dr. Kenner's Sermon, *Jan.* 31. 1703--4, and Vindication of the Royal Martyr. Several Evidences which have not yet appeared in the Controversy concerning the Author of *EIKON BASILIKE*; produced in a Letter to the Reverend Mr. *Wagstaffe*. By *J. R.* of *Plymouth*.

A List of the Members of both Houses of the Present Convocation, Price 2d.

The Case of Moderation and Occasional Communion represented, by Way of Caution to the true Sons of the Church of *England*. The second Edition.

Lay-Craft Exemplified in a Discovery of the Weakness of the late Attempts of the Author of *Priest-Craft in Perfection*, and Mr. *Benjamin Robinson*, Minister of the Gospel, to prove the *English* Clergy guilty of *Forgery*. In a Letter to Mr. *Robinson*.

A Vindication of the Church of *England* from the Aspersions of a late Libel, intituled, *Priest-Craft in Perfection*, &c. Wherein the controverted Clause of the Church's Power in the XXth Article is shewn to be of equal Authority with all the rest of the Articles; and the Fraud and Forgery charged upon the Clergy on the Account of that Clause, are retorted upon their Accusers. With a Preface containing some Remarks upon the *Reflections on that Pamphlet*. By a Priest of the Church of *England*.

The Clergy of the Church of *England* vindicated, in a Sermon preached in the Metropolitcal Church of *Christ, Canterbury*, on Tuesday, *May* 16. 1710. By *John Lewis*, Minister of *Margate*.

An Answer to *J. O's Arguments* for Ordination by *Presbyters*, without *Bishops*. By *John Thomas*, A. M. Rector of *Penegoes* in *Montgomeryshire*. Recommended by the Reverend Dr. *George Hickes*.

A Sermon preached in *K. Henry* the 7th's Chapel at *Westminster*, *January* 30. 1710. before the Reverend Clergy of the *Lower House* of Convocation: Being the Anniversary of the Martyrdom of King *Charles* the First. By *Edmond Archer*, B. D. Fellow of *St. John Baptist's College* in *Oxford*, and one of the Proctors of the Diocese of *Bath* and *Wells*.

A
D E F E N C E
O F
The Vindication
O F
K. Charles the Martyr;
JUSTIFYING
HIS MAJESTY'S TITLE
T O
'ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ'.

In ANSWER to
A Late Pamphlet intituled *Amyntor*.

By the Author of the *Vindication*.

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A
D E F E N C E
Of the
VINDICATION
O F
K. CHARLES the Martyr, &c.

NEXT to no Adversary, a fair one is the best; and by a fair Adversary I mean, not such a one who will spare his Adversary's Arguments, but who will not conceal them; who will represent the Case plainly, and examine it thoroughly; and though he inclines to one, is equally just to both sides of the Question, and will give his Readers the strength of his Adversary's Cause as well as his own: This method, if it does not carry the Cause, deserves commendation; if the Adversary is not convinc'd, he cannot complain. But the Author I have now to deal with is of a clean contrary temper, he likes it much better to suppress severall Arguments, and some the most material, than either to represent, or answer them; and even of those he does vouchsafe to mention, he takes especial care to leave out all their strength, and gives his Reader only the Bones and Skeleton, without the Sinews, and there is not one Argument that he hath placed in its due light, or answer'd in its due force; so

that instead of fairly debating, he hath only disguised the Controversie, and muffled it up that no body may perceive it; by which means he abuses his Reader, himself, and his Cause too, as well as me; when instead of disabling the force of my Reasons, he very sordidly evades them, and frames a company of trifling Exceptions, some out of my words, and some out of his own; but allways below, sometimes contrary to my sense; and then gives as trifling Answers to them.

This all understanding men will take to be a very severe accusation, and I confess it is so; but as severe as it is, it is withall most true, and I do directly and in plain terms charge it upon this Author, and beg no man's candor, but only the Reader's patience to make it good in every particular.

The first thing that occurs, is the *Memorandum* said to be written by the Lord *Anglesey*.

Memorandum.

King Charles the Second, and the Duke of York, did both (in the last Session of Parliament, 1675. when I shewed them, in the Lords House, the written Copy of this Book, wherein are some corrections and alterations written with the late King Charles the First's own hand) assure me, that this was none of the said King's compiling, but made by Doctor Gauden, Bishop of Exeter; which I here insert for the undeceiving others in this point, by attesting so much under my hand.

ANGLESEY.

To this my first Answer was, " That Both the said Kings
 " have attested the contrary by their Letters Patents; those
 " of King *Charles* bear date Nov. 29. 1660. and expressly
 " and particularly take notice of this Book, as his Father's,
 " in these remarkable expressions, *especially those most excel-*
 " *lent Discourses and Soliloquies by the name of* *ἡρώδης*
 " Those of King *James* bear date Feb. 22. 1685. and ex-
 " pressly

“ preſſly refer to the firſt Edition of the King’s Works 1662.
 “ in which his Maſteſty declares *the Works of his Royal Fa-*
 “ *ther were printed.* Theſe are publick and authentick
 inſtruments, the higheſt and moſt unconteſtable Evidence
 that a King of *England* can give to any matter; and cer-
 tainly ſomething very conſiderable ought to be offer’d be-
 fore they are laid aſide, and eſpecially before the authori-
 ty of the King’s Evidence be tranſlated from the Broad
 Seals to a blind Paper. But our Author treats the Broad
 Seals with the ſame ceremony as the Kings themſelves;
 nothing ſo mean and contemptible but is ſufficient to over-
 throw the honour of the one, and credit of the other. But
 let us take his Answer in order.

And here he begins fairly, as in the firſt place, to miſtake
 my meaning, contrary to as plain Words as a Man could
 ſpeak: The Reader need not be reminded, that this is
 an Answer to the *Memorandum*, and deſign’d to ſhew, that
 the Two Kings had a direct contrary opinion of the Au-
 thor of the Book, to what is aſſign’d by the *Memorandum*.
 Now though our Author ſays, that he would begin with
 the Exceptions to that, yet for ſome good reaſon or other,
 he hath tranſplanted this Answer, and ranged it under ano-
 ther head; and according to him, it is one of the *Facts* P. 130.
which are alleadged to prove Charles the Firſt was the true
Author of Icon Baſilike. But if they were ever alleadged
 for that purpoſe, it is by himſelf, and not by me: For I
 never alleadged the Letters Patents to prove that King the
 true Author, and I had declar’d ſo as plain as I could
 ſpeak: my words are, “ The immediate Queſtion here is
 “ not Who was the Author of this Book? but Who was *Vindic. p. 25*
 “ ſo in the opinion and judgment of thoſe two Kings?
 So that by his favour, I alleadged them not to prove who
 was the true Author, but what was the true ſenſe and
 judgment of thoſe Kings: And if our Author can miſtake
 ſuch plain expreſſions, and thoſe negative too, the Reader
 may be the leſs ſurpris’d if he meets with the ſame practice
 ſo often hereafter. Well, though our Author miſtakes it,
 it may be he may answer it, and that is enough at one
 time,

time, and a little too much, I find, for some Authors. And thus we have it:

P. 131.

Which (the Letters Patents) *says Mr. W. contradict what he's believ'd to say to my Lord Anglesey, that is, the Memorandum; for I know of no authority he hath to put his own belief into my answer, and not content with that, to tell his Readers I say it too; whereas I neither said it, nor believe it: I say indeed that the Letters Patents contradict the Memorandum, but what he or any other man believes concerning the Kings speech to my Lord Anglesey, I neither say nor know, whatever some may pretend. But changing the terms is but a small fault, when there are so many greater; and therefore let us pass to his Reply, and thus it follows, But with his good leave the Conclusion does not follow.* What Conclusion is that? why, That the Letters Patents contradict the *Memorandum*. This it seems is that which in our Author's extraordinary judgment does not follow, which is one of the strangest things in the world: The Letters Patents expressly and in terms own King *Charles* the First to be the Author, the *Memorandum* as expressly denies it, and asserts, that not He, but Bishop *Gauden* was the Author: Now these are his Premises as well as mine, and let him try his skill, if it be possible for him, or any man else, to make any thing else follow, than that the Letters Patents and the *Memorandum* contradict each other; which is the very Conclusion he asserts does not follow, and asserts it with triumph too, *with his good leave the Conclusion does not follow.* And his reason for this is to as much purpose as the Answer: For (saith he) *those Letters were issued out in the year 1660, before Dr. Gauden gave the King true information, and it was 1675. that he told his opinion to my Lord Anglesey, long after he was convinced that his Father had not written the Book.* Now if I should grant him all this, it might doe his Cause some service, but his Argument would be never the better: and suppose for once, that King *Charles* upon Dr *Gauden's* information did say this so long after, is it not a contradiction, as well if King *Charles* said it, and said

said it so long after, as if any body else said it? Let who will say it, and let it be before or after, the contradiction is the same; but by our Author's way of arguing, though another may, a man cannot contradict himself, except he hath the ill fortune to doe it in the same breath; but if it be some time after, 'tis no such matter, and very consistent. I perceive this same *Time*, which hath a sovereign virtue to make up breaches and differences, hath one healing property more, even to reconcile Contradictions, and make them none at all: For although the Letters Patents do directly and in express terms contradict the *Memorandum*, yet the Conclusion does not follow, that is, they do not contradict it; and for this reason, because it was said fifteen years after. I ly at his mercy if I have misrepresented him, and desire the Reader to consult the place; for perhaps it will not be thought that a man, who pretends to write upon the *Canon*, and to correct the mistakes of the world for many ages, should himself in so few Lines be guilty of two such gross Blunders, as first to mistake my meaning, and then to mistake his own Answer.

For his Answer ought to be thus, according to his own Principles, "That granting the Contradiction between
 "the two Assertions, yet it does not follow but King
 "Charles might assert both; for that since the issuing out
 "the Letters Patents in 60, he had received true infor-
 "mation from Dr. *Gauden*, and it was long after that in-
 "formation in 75. that he told his opinion to my Lord
 "*Anglesey*. Now if the Reader hath so much charity as
 to admit this for his Answer, with all my heart: for
 though I do not think my self obliged either to make or
 mend his Answers for him, considering how unfairly he hath
 dealt with my Arguments and Exceptions, yet being more
 concerned for Truth, than any other advantage of the Dis-
 pute, I am contented his Answers should have the utmost
 strength they are capable of; and if he thinks I have not pro-
 pos'd this to the best advantage, let him mend it himself;
 and then I will consider it; in the mean time this I have to
 say to it, as it stands clear'd of the former Blunders.

1. 'Tis sophistical, and apparently begs the Question in Controversie. Here are two suppositions that are the foundation of this Answer, *That Dr. Gauden inform'd the King, and that the King inform'd the Lord Anglesey*, and both these are Questions between us; and this is pure disputing, to answer by the Question: I produce the Letters Patents in Answer to the *Memorandum*, and he replies to them by the *Memorandum* it self: This is fine Logick, and likely to forward the Controversie, and at this rate we shall never have done.

2. The distances of Time between 1660 and 1675 is just such another; for what signifies the distance between those two assertions, except it be first suppos'd that he did assert it at that distance? which is the thing in Controversie, and *Petitio Principii* again. He tells us King *Charles* issued out his Letters Patents in 60, and then asserted his Father was the Author; but it was afterwards in 75 that upon better information he asserted the contrary. And what now is the force of this Answer? why if the thing in controversie be admitted, if it be granted him that King *Charles* said so in 75, then this is an Answer, but till then 'tis most ridiculous; and that is a pure Answer indeed, which to make it signifie any thing, the whole Cause must first be given up, and then 'tis perfectly needless.

And therefore there was something else he ought to have first answer'd, and which I had urged upon this head, which concerns the *validity of the respective Testimonies* for these two assertions; and if he could have gain'd his point there, he might have drawn this by way of Conclusion; but 'tis an Answer to nothing. But that is an Argument which affects the merits of the Cause, and he is always very civil to such things, and cannot prevail with himself to offend them; and I find with some Authors 'tis far easier to beg the Question than to answer Arguments: though with his favour, I crave leave to tell him, that unless he take a little care to speak to what follows, all he hath said hitherto is perfectly lost: and therefore,

3. He

3. He is so far from answering, that he totally suppresses that upon which the Controversie turns; and that is, the Comparison between the respective Evidence in point of validity. I must here crave leave to do our Author's business, and to repeat that which he ought both to have repeated and answer'd; but since he will not do it, I must do it my self: accordingly I had said, "A man would *Vindic. p. 4.*
 " imagine there could not be any possible dispute which
 " was to be prefer'd, a publick and authoritative Attestation of the Kings themselves, or a private *Memorandum*
 " by a third person. Whether the Testimony of my
 " Lord *Anglesey* be a better proof of their sense and judgment, than their own Testimony; or a private, obscure, unattested, posthumous Hand Writing, a more valid Evidence than the Broad Seals. That high and authoritative Evidence is allways to carry the Cause, in opposition to that which is no Evidence at all. And what does our Author say to this? Why truly not one single word, nor take the least notice of it, as if it did not concern the Question. Perhaps a reason may be given why he shifted this Answer to another head; for had he spoke to it in its proper place, some of his Readers might have been so curious as to have consider'd and compar'd the places, and then they would have easily discover'd, both his dissingenuity in dropping the main Argument, and his trifling Answer to what he does mention. For what, I wonder, does his distance between 60 and 75 signifie? when there is the best Evidence for the one instance, and none at all, or as good as none, for the other; and let the pretended time be when it will, nearer or farther off, ever or never, it signifies nothing, till the validity of the Evidence for it be first clear'd: This therefore is the only point to be debated in this case; and there neither is, nor can be any other, and upon which all the rest depend, which yet our Author will not endure to come near. This is the last resort of this Controversie, and into which it is finally resolv'd: They on that side of the Question insist on the *Memorandum*, and we on the *Letters Patents*; and which way in the world is there to bring

bring this to an issue, but by considering and comparing the value and authority of the respective Testimonies, and from thence shewing which preponderates, and ought to determine the belief of an impartial man in a point of this nature? And I think I need ask no man's courtesie to answer these Questions in favour of the Cause I defend: Whether the sense and judgment of the two Kings be better collected from their own publick and authentick Declarations, or from a private and suspicious *Memorandum* of another person? And whether a blind Paper in point of Evidence, is to be prefer'd to the Broad Seals? This is the only point necessary to be spoke to, which it seems was too hot for our Author's fingers, and he let it alone: and here this branch of the Controversie rests, and here it must rest till our Author clear his hands of it.

I now come to examine his Answers to the other Exceptions I had made to the *Memorandum*; and here he is at the same trade again, concealing all that is material, intirely suppressing one whole Exception, and that the most considerable; and so mangling the rest, that he hath stripp'd them of all that is argumentative, and hath any strength in it: He is so faithfull to his Cause, as to suffer every thing to stand in full force against it; and this, if he please, he may stile defending a Cause, but his Party must be very kind, if they do not call it a betraying it.

Thus in the first place, he hath taken especial care that his Reader shall not see the *foundation* of my Exceptions, upon which, and upon which only, their whole force depends, and without which they would be no Exceptions at all, or only such silly ones as our Author makes them. And accordingly in order to make it appear that the *Memorandum* was highly lyable to the suspicion of forgery, I had said, " For the proof of this I shall take my measures
indic. p. 3. " from the last words of the *Memorandum*, which plainly
 " declare the End for which it was made, and for that reason
 " declare that it was not made nor sign'd by the said
 " Lord: the words are these, *Which I here assert for the undeceiving others in this point, by attesting so much under*
 " my

“ *my hand*: Now here are these things observable, and
 “ which in every respect make this *Memorandum* defective,
 “ and insufficient for the attaining this End: and then I
 immediately subjoin, *It bears no date, 'tis unattested, &c.*
 So that the plain reason why I ascribe deficiency to the
Memorandum in these respects, is because upon these ac-
 counts it is insufficient for the attaining the End proposed
 by it. This therefore is the apparent groundwork of my
 Exceptions, upon this they are supported, to this they
 have a direct and immediate reference, and this is either ex-
 press'd or implied in the Exceptions themselves; and one
 would imagine that 'twas not possible that this should be
 pretermitted, and no manner of regard had to it, by a man
 who had a mind to answer them: But, whatever he pre-
 tends, our Author is obstinately bent against answering me;
 he hath some Chimeras of his own, and builds Castles in
 the air, and then attacks them; but for my Exceptions,
 he leaves them just as he found them, and if they will be
 answer'd, as far as I can perceive, they must answer them-
 selves, our Author is not at leisure to take any notice of
 them, except it be in the Title Page.

Thus (for instance) he tells us, *'Tis urg'd that it* (the *P. 97.*
Memorandum) *does not particularly express by the date,*
whether it meant the last Session of Parliament before the
writing of it, or the last of the year 75. This is a wise Ex-
 ception indeed, and I desire to know who made it, for I
 am sure I never did: For, *By what date* does he mean? if
 the date of the *Memorandum*, it has none; if the date
 when these words are said to be spoken, I said *it bears*
no date with respect to the exact time of that; and what
 ever it may be for our Author, it would be ridiculous for
 me to say *it does not particularly express by that* which I
 had said it does not express; and the affirming it did not
 so, is my Exception to it: but he seems as if he was will-
 fully set not to understand me. And this will appear far
 ther when we see his Answer, which is, *when it is plain,*
that he meant the last or Winter Session, and that it was
therefore the immediate Session preceding the writing this

Memorandum. Very good, and what then? why then the Reader, if he be very easie, is to believe, that my Exception to the *Memorandum* was, that it did not particularly expresse what that last Session was; and all I had to say against it was, the doubtfulness of those expressions, whereas it is the direct contrary. I said indeed *that was express'd ambiguously*, (and I say so still, notwithstanding our Author's asserting the contrary:) but that is none of my Exception, nor did I ever urge the ambiguity as an Exception to the *Memorandum*, nor did I think it reasonable so to doe, (whatever our Author doth,) but only to shew that it was capable of two senses; which our Author very discreetly takes for the Exception it self, and formally answers it, as if I had laid great weight upon it; whereas 'tis all one to me, and to my Exception, let him interpret them which way he will, the Exception is directed against both, as any man but our Author must needs perceive: "That the *Memorandum* bears no date with respect to the "exact time when the King and the Duke are said to "have assur'd the Lord *Anglesey*: Let the ambiguity of those expressions (*the last Session*) be determin'd to what sense you will; if to the last before the writing of it, then the *Memorandum* having no date, there can be no certain time fix'd when that Session was, and consequently no determinate time when these words were spoken; and therefore a suspicious Evidence, as giving testimony to a matter of fact, and at the same time leaving the world in the dark when that fact was: But if to the last Session of that year, then also it bears no date with respect to the exact time of speaking these words, because the space of time is too large and loose to found a competent Evidence upon. A Session of Parliament may continue five, six, or seven Months, and so we have a matter of fact fastned to the compass of a hundred, two hundred or more days: so that take the sense of those expressions which way you please, the Exception affects them both, and we are still in the dark, as to the exact time when that assurance was made; that therefore the *Memorandum* is a wild and wandering Evidence,

Evidence, and extraordinary fit indeed to *undecieve others*, which for the matter it asserts hath a very loose date, and for it self hath no date at all. This and somewhat more for confirmation and illustration of it, I had said before; and does not any man see what fine work our Author has made with it? He makes a ridiculous Exception, and then answers it as ridiculously; and the Answer (such as it is) was answer'd long before he made it, and even by the Exception he pretends to answer: For let the sense he contends for be never so plain, my Exception lies against that sense equally with the other: And what can be said to such an Answerer, who will not be brought to speak to the true point, but spends his time in talking to his own shadow? I desire hereafter that he will answer my Exceptions; and for his own, he may let them alone, or dispose of them as he pleases.

Next he tells us, *To say that there is no Witness to it, is P. 93. a singular sort of objection*: I suppose, because it is so very unusual and extraordinary for men to require good proof: if our Author could persuade the world to that, it might doe his Cause some service; but when the belief of a matter of fact depends upon the credibility of the Witness, it is very strange with our Author that men should demand that: but he hath a reason, *when his Lordship's Relations, and all that have seen this, and his other Writings, own it to be his hand*. Alas, that men should be so nice and scrupulous to trouble themselves about Witnesses, when there are people enough in the world who know their hands, and there is no such thing as forgery and counterfeit to be found. This would be a wise reason in all other matters, where a man's hand is called in question, or produc'd to determine a matter in controversy. But suppose it, and let this go as far as it can, (which is more than I need to doe, till he gives better proofs than his own affirmations,) this I have to say to it, that as to his *owning it*, I doubt that expression is a little of the largest; for to own it, is in downright terms to affirm it; and I believe none of his Lordship's Relations will doe that, or hath allready done it,

it, and it would be too rash and unadvised for any man to undertake it; and the utmost that can be said, is that it may be collected or guess'd at from the resemblance it bears to his Lordship's other Writings, (if indeed it does bear such resemblance;) but if our Author does not, every body else knows, that the similitude of hands is utterly insufficient to determine the least matter in the world, in opposition to a direct, evident and undenyable Testimony: for 'tis at best but a conjectural Evidence, and a conjectural Evidence against a real one is none at all; it hath of it self but very little force in point of proof, but that sinks to just nothing when the contrary is prov'd by direct Evidence; and to urge this in any other matter, would be the most ridiculous thing in the world. Suppose, for instance, a man should have his Testimony upon Record, and another produce a *Memorandum* writ by a third person, asserting he said the contrary some years after the said Record was taken, and that he conjectures it to be that person's hand, or however it is like it: Can any man in his wits think that this will baffle the Record, and a blind Paper with his conjectures upon it, be sufficient to set aside the best Evidence in the Kingdome? This sort of proceeding would be thought more fit to be laught at, than seriously dealt with; and this is the very case here: On the one side there are the Letters Patents directly and plainly asserting, that the King was the Author; on the other side, and for the contrary assertion, there is a blind *Memorandum*, without any Witness, and supported only by conjectures and likeness of hands, if there be that: Now at our Author's rate of arguing, this last carries the Cause invincibly, triumphs over the Broad Seals, and is more to be relied on than the best Evidence in the world. And if any man can seriously believe this, and determine his judgment by conjectures, against the most plain and evident proofs, that man may believe any thing, and all reasons and proofs are perfectly lost upon him; he is sway'd by fancy or partiality, and stands fortified by such precarious and arbitrary principles against all the convictions in the world.

world. For if the conjectural proof of a proof (which is the utmost that can be said on that side,) must carry the Cause against the most direct and unexceptionable proof, 'tis in vain to debate the matter by Reason and Evidence, but the decision of the Controversie must be left to noise and clamour, to freaks and whimsies, to humour and imagination, the wildest and most capricious things under the Sun.

Well, however that be, our Author hath yet something more to say to this point; and thus it follows, *Nor is there any thing more common, than for learned or great men to leave such Memorandums in a Book concerning the Author of it, when it was a Question, or about any other secret relating to it, which they thought they had discover'd; and yet 'tis a thing unheard till now, that they were deny'd to be theirs whose Names they bear, because the day of the Month was not mention'd, nor the Names of any Witnesses added, when the hand was confessed to be the same with their other Writings.* And our Author hath a Book of Mr. Hamden's, intituled *Apollonii Gralle*, in which he writes that *Lansbergius* was the Author of it, of whom he there gives a character. Now as to confession of hands, I have spoke to just before; and as to the rest, our Author hath forgot the point in controversy (as he allways does:) he ought to have consider'd *the End of the Memorandum*, and the foundation of my Exceptions, and then it would have appear'd what an excellent parallel he makes: For is there no difference between writing Criticisms and conjectures upon Authors, and leaving the world to believe or refuse them as they see occasion, and a *Memorandum* pretended for Posterity, to undeceive the world, to correct popular mistakes and prejudices, and all this upon the single credit of the *Memorandum* it self? Men may write their Criticisms how, where, and when they please, and leave them as they please, because they signify nothing unless supported by other and more substantial reasons; but if a man will be imposing his Testimony on the world, and expect that they should lay aside their prejudices upon the credit

credit of that Testimony, in all reason he ought to take care that it be so convey'd and corroborated, that the world may be assur'd that it is his own Testimony, and not farther'd upon him to shew tricks with, and serve other mens turns. This my Lord *Anglesey* knew well enough, (and no man better,) and if he had wrote the Paper, he knew at the same time he was not writing Criticisms, but making an Evidence; and to fit it for that purpose, it ought to have been attested; for his Lordship knew that an unattested Paper is no Evidence in the world: and a Gentleman of his Lordship's prudence, and foresight, and great knowledge in the Laws, would never leave behind him a *Memorandum* to convince others, and at the same time leave them destitute of all fit and proper means of being convinc'd that he wrote it himself; and it was by no means suitable to his Lordship's character, to pretend to *undeceive others*, by such a deceitfull and suspicious *medium* as may create some Controversies, but can end none. Our Author pretends great skill and niceness in distinguishing between spurious and genuine Writings, and I desire to know whether these be two of his marks of spurious Writings, that they are inconsistent with the character of the Author, and that the subject matter contradicts an undeniable Testimony of the same Age.

But there was one Exception more which our Author would not meddle with, and perhaps because he could not tell how to disguise or misrepresent it; and that is, that the *Memorandum* is inconsistent with it self. The End is alledg'd to be *to undeceive others*, the Means to answer that End, the most improbable and unlikely that could be taken, and in a manner contradictory to it, "as lodging it in a vacant Page of a Book, never to be seen till after his death, and then liable to a thousand contingencies; to be torn, to fall into private hands, to ly neglected, and never see the light: And this our Author confirms, *I doubt* (saith he) *if any other than one of Mr. Millington's great curiosity, and no bigotry, had the disposal of my Lord Anglesey's Books, we should never have heard of the Memorandum.*

So

So that in our Author's own opinion this was a very un-hopefull way to secure the Ends of it, and the *Memorandum* was in the utmost hazard, when nothing could save it, and make it serviceable to these great Ends, but a conjunction of two such accidents, as that the Books should be sold by Auction, and that Mr. *Millington* should make the sale. Now the End of every thing deserves chiefly to be consider'd, as being the first and principal thing in every action, and for the attaining which, the whole is directed, and subservient: and here we have a *Memorandum* pretending a mighty zeal for Truth, and formally drawn up to *undecieve others*; and at the same time thrust up in a corner, and the persons for whose use it was design'd, must come at it as well as they can; and they must be beholden to nice and unforeseen accidents, (as our Author observes,) if ever they shall be the better for it. Suppose one man should tell another, *Sir, you are under a very great mistake*, and I have taken especial care to undeceive you, by writing down the Truth, and setting my hand to it; but I have lock'd it up in my Study, and will keep it safe enough as long as I live, but it may be you may see it after my death, though 'tis a *thousand to one you never see it at all*; and (to carry it on with our Author's observation,) there is but one way in the world for it, that *you persuade Mr. Millington to live so long, and to make the sale*. Now (setting aside our Author's jest, and which perhaps may be a true one,) what contemptible notions have men of humane nature, who can without any manifest and direct proof fasten such things on a sober and serious man, and much more on a person of his Lordship's great wisdom and caution? But this is a point our Author very quietly passes over, and leaves it to take its chance, although it is more material than any of the rest: for hereby the *Memorandum* betrays it self, discovers the forgery, and apparently shews that the Contriver forgot himself; he hath gone and assign'd an End for the writing it inconsistent with it; he hath made the Writer appear very warm and zealous to *undecieve others*, but at the

same time forgot, that the only thing whereby they should be undeceiv'd, was to be all the while conceal'd, and never to be seen, or however never that the pretended Writer either did, or could know. By this time, I suppose, the Reader may perceive, that when our Author pretermitted the foundation of my Exceptions, (and which is also the foundation of the *Memorandum* it self,) it was not out of mistake or negligence, but industriously; for here he hath done the same with this Exception, which is expressly and in terms drawn from the End of the *Memorandum*; and had he mention'd either the one or the other, he must have spoke to this point, which it seems he could not tell how to doe, and therefore thought it better to lay them wholly aside, than to be at the trouble to raise Exceptions, and when he had done, not be able to lay them again.

In farther prosecution of this Exception, and for the illustration and confirmation of it, I had added, " Had there been no other way, such a one as this must have shifted as well as it could; but when men may clear up Mistakes by living and undoubted Testimony, to commit it to a bit of Paper, and that also laid up in darkness and obscurity, seems far from that zeal to Truth that this *Memorandum* pretends to, and for which End it pretends to have been written. Had my Lord *Anglesey* no Friends, Relations, Acquaintance? &c. Which our Author thus represents, *It is no just Exception to this Memorandum, that my Lord Anglesey did not communicate the contents of it to any of his Friends or Relations.* And here in the first place, his Reader (if he will take his word) is to suppose that this was my Exception; whereas that is what is just before mention'd, and this only added to illustrate and strengthen it; and it seems, with him there is no difference between an Exception, and what is brought to clear and confirm it: But I believe he could distinguish this well enough, but he could not answer the Exception; and thought he could say something to this, and therefore by a dexterous flight of hand, hath slipt this into the place of it. And secondly, even in the manner he hath mention'd it, he hath taken
care

care to hide the reason and ground of my adding it, which is apparently, and in terms, drawn from the End of the *Memorandum*, which intimates a keen desire *to undeceive others in this point*, and consequently the same desire to propagate and spread it; and there being two such ways, as one (at the best) very uncertain and hazardous, the other plain, open, and in all points sufficient to answer that End, 'tis unaccountable his Lordship should neglect the best, and betake himself to the worst in the world; which our Author represents lamely and imperfectly, as if there was no more in it, than merely the not communicating it to his Relations; whereas had he thought it not worth his notice, or had he purpos'd not to communicate it, he might have done as he pleas'd, and neither wrote it nor told it: but when the *Memorandum* supposes such a strong impulse upon him *to undeceive others*, as to commit it to writing, 'tis unreasonable to think that the same impulse should not operate the right way, and direct his Lordship to the most proper and suitable courses to answer his End, which are obvious to the meanest understanding, and which he had every moment opportunity to doe. This is the force of my reasoning here, which our Author expresses thus loosely and generally, and without any manner of reference to it; but this concern'd *the End of the Memorandum*, and our Author is resolv'd upon no manner of account to meddle with, or mention that, lest he should force himself, against his inclination, to speak to it, and therefore hath allways very cautiously slipt it out of the Question; although all men (but our Author) will think, that as it is the principal thing in the intention of the Actor, so it ought chiefly to be regarded in considering the nature of the Action. However, to let that pass, although our Author takes the liberty to make me say what he please, and represents the Exceptions as it best liketh him, and according as he thinks he can best deal with them, I hope it may not be unreasonable to expect, even from such an Answerer, that he will at least answer satisfactorily what he represents himself. And thus it follows, *For though the*

Two Royal Brothers imparted the Secret to him, it does by no means follow that they intended he should publish it to the World. No by no means, I must needs grant him that Consequence; and then in pursuance of that, and because his Lordship would not betray the King's Secrets, he did not tell this to his Friends or Relations: But then, I pray, how came he to write it, and to write it for this End too, *to undeceive others?* I suppose those *others* could not be undeceiv'd without *publishing* of it, and I suppose also, that writing is *publishing*, as well as speaking; but our Author did not think of that: and therefore this was communicated to him as *a Secret*, or as *no Secret*; if as *a Secret*, then he ought neither to tell it nor write it, except he wrote it on purpose that no body should see it, and then it was admirably contriv'd to *undeceive others*; if as *no Secret*, then that zeal for Truth (suppos'd in the *Memorandum*) would have oblig'd him to declare it, as being a thousand times more fit to answer his Ends; and the Conclusion is, let our Author's be an Answer or no Answer, let it be true or false, 'tis equally and in both respects against the *Memorandum*.

But if this will not doe, our Author hath another Answer in reserve; and that is, *Supposing they did not oblige him to silence, yet 'tis probable that his Lordship was not very fond of being disturb'd by the clamours of some Churchmen who carried things so high at that time.* This is a terrible Reason: I perceive my Lord *Anglesey* was most cruelly Priest-ridden, when for fear of them, he durst not so much as whisper such a thing in the ears of his Friends, or Relations. Now if the Reader is so soft and easie, as to admit this for a Reason, let him take his liberty; but withall, let him take this along with him, that 'tis a Reason against the *Memorandum* too: For a man must stretch his faculties hard before he can believe that his Lordship would convey an ungratefull and controverted Truth in such a blind manner, and by such a defective and suspicious Paper, when at the same time, he knew for certain there would be so great and violent opposition made against

gainst it. Had his Lordship stood in such awe of the Churchmen, and expected before hand a fierce opposition, he would have made his Testimony sure enough, and transmitted it in such an unexceptionable manner, as they should not have been able to gainsay, or contradict it; whereas as it now lies, 'tis impotent and useless, lyable to all the Exceptions in the world; and the most violent opposers of the Church, how much soever they like it, have not yet been able to make the least proof of it, or to say one wise word in defence of it.

Next he tells us, *I affirm that there is no presumption* P. 100. *that the Royal Brothers communicated this to any other.* And so far he is right, I did indeed affirm it; but that he may keep his hand in, and represent nothing fairly, he adds to it of his own, *besides the Lord Anglesey*: which expression contains an implication, as if they had communicated it to my Lord *Anglesey*, though to no other; and as he hath worded it, 'tis only a small concession that gives up the whole Question: But he cannot be trusted with any thing, and allways spoils it in the handling; and I have ten times more trouble to rescue my sense out of his hands, and to set it streight, than to answer any thing he hath objected against it. And now let us proceed to his Answer, *Which* (saith he) *is a negative Argument, and proves nothing.* Very right, and I had told him so before, in so many words, [“This I confess is a negative;”] and it is somewhat extraordinary to give that very thing in answer which I had before admitted and granted: I confess it is a negative, and he answers *it is a negative*; and so the Question goes forward apace: and what kind of disputing does he call this? Methinks he might have been contented with my concessions, and not trouble himself to answer what is granted allready, and much less to answer so ridiculously, as by the very same concession that I had made to his hands. He adds, *'Tis possible my Lord Anglesey himself told of this to others, though they may be since dead, or are not willing to tell it again.* We are come to a fine pass, when we must argue the matter by *possibilities*; 'tis

possible the Skie may fall, and then we shall catch Larks : however 'twill serve the Reply as well as the Answer, 'tis possible he never told it to others ; and I care not much if I add, 'tis probable he never told it, because 'tis probable he never knew it himself. But what does this here? the Question here is not, Whether my Lord *Anglesey*? but Whether the Two Kings told this to others? But I suppose this was intended as an Answer, such as it is, to the former, however he thrust it in here: I find I may pardon his shifting my Exceptions, who makes such work with his own Answers, as to place them at random, and jumble things together that concern two different Questions. But as to the Two Kings he says, *If the Royall Brothers had spoke of it to no body else, it follows not that a Secret was never committed to one, because it was not to more.* Very right, it does not follow necessarily, (and that must be his meaning, or else 'tis nonsense; for I hope he does not think it utterly improbable they might tell it to more, if they told it to one,) and I never said nor thought it did; and therefore this Answer, whatever it is, is nothing to me, nor affects any thing that I have asserted; for it may follow probably enough for all that, that if it was committed to one, it might also be committed to others, and this is all I made of it; and so my Argument stands in full force, let the Answer be never so true in it self, and that is a pure Answer indeed which leaves the Argument in the very same condition it found it: But our Author answers at rovers, and rambles from the Question, and will neither understand it himself, nor suffer his Reader to understand it, or so much as to see it; and I am forc'd to tire the Reader's patience and my own, so often to repeat what he ought to have done; and thus it is in my own words, " I shall leave it with all the world, whether if this was their constant and standing judgment, it is by any means *probable* that they would not one time or other have declar'd the same to some other persons; and consequently, that we should have heard it from some other quarter, and in some better manner than by such a blind *Memo-*
randum.

“*randum*. This is a probable Argument, and (as I take it) a very probable one too, and as such I shall leave it to the judgment of the Reader; and our Author hath not said one word to weaken the probability of it in any respect, and out of his abundant tenderness, will neither mention nor answer it; for to say *it does not follow necessarily*, is a ridiculous Answer to an Argument that concludes only *probably*; the Argument is to one thing, and the Answer to another.

But before I leave this head, there is one thing more deserves to be taken notice of; our Author here, and in severall other places, calls this a *Secret*, meaning the Two Kings made a *great Secret* of it; and then I suppose these things will look like Riddles, that the Two Royal Brothers should both of them in the same instant be inclin'd to reveal what they had for several years conceal'd inviolably; and this also without the least hesitation or deliberation in either of them, upon no manner of reason or provocation, on so slight an occasion, and without caution. This I suppose does not look like telling a Secret, but a frank and open declaration of what they did not care if all the world knew; and the *Memorandum* (if it may be credited) plainly intimates that it was told with all possible openness and freedom, and design'd to be spread abroad, rather than be kept as a Secret: And then my Argument concludes yet more probably, that if this was their settled opinion, and they made no Secret of it themselves, in all probability they would have told it to many more; and then instead of having it confin'd to one man's private breast, or lodg'd only in a blind Paper, we should have had it in all men's mouths, and rung through the Kingdom. These Kings were neither of them so happy as to have their most private affairs kept secret; and what they endeavour'd to conceal, was soon divulg'd, not only through the Kingdom, but through the World; and this was not only the fate of their private Speeches or Actions, but of their most secret Counsels too; and it is one of the most unaccountable things in the world, that when their closest Secrets should be

be disclos'd on the house top, that only should lie hid, and no body know it, which themselves made no Secret at all.

- P. 101. At last he tells us, *We shall presently alleadge more than a presumption, that both the said Kings declar'd their opinion to other People;* and then about fifty Pages after says, *The Royal Brothers said the same to severall others besides my Lord Anglesey; and particularly to some eminent persons now living, who told me so much themselves, with a liberty of mentioning their Names; which after all that has been offer'd, I see no necessity of doing.* This is fine and delicate, our Author it seems is grown so very modest, and mealy mouth'd, that he will not take the liberty given him, though it tends more to his advantage (in this part of the Controversie) than any thing he either hath said, or can say; but he that can see no necessity of disproving my Assertions, may at the same time see no necessity of proving his own. However 'tis a little strange, that when he hath hitherto answer'd not one word to the purpose, he will strain courtesie, and not take the liberty to give a good Answer, even when it was ready. I suppose, to make his Book all of a piece, he is so passionately resolv'd against answering me, that he cannot prevail with himself, when he had the fairest opportunity in his hands. In the mean time, it is very pleasant to talk of Names and Testimonies in the Clouds, and especially for him, who slightly turns off two grave and considerable Authors, *We shall hear and examine them, when they'll please to tell us their Names;* and at the same time keeps his own Names and Witnesses in his Pocket. But he that considers what great zeal, and little knowledge, he hath shew'd in this Cause, I suppose will not be over fond of taking his bare word for it.
- P. 147.

- P. 101. Having thus dispatch'd what concerns the *Memorandum*, I proceed to consider what he offers to my other Exceptions; which he introduces with this Preface, *By such nice Cavils against the Memorandum.* This, I suppose, we must take to supply the defect of a better Answer; and
when

when he hath said nothing, or as good as nothing, to them, it may doe well enough with some Readers to give them hard names, and which to people very well inclin'd may serve instead of the best Answer in the world. But if by *such Cavils*, he means *such* as he hath represented, and pretended to answer, I will never contend with him about them, he may take them to himself; for the Cavils and Answers are all his own, and both equally trifling and impertinent. Well however, *By such nice Cavils* (he tells us) *we can easily judge of the Exceptions we may expect to Dr. Walker's Account*: and then it follows very methodically, *that Gauden hop'd to make a fortune by this Book, &c.* Why, did I ever urge that as an Exception to *Dr. Walker's Account*? No matter for that, I urg'd it some where or other, and upon some account or other; and 'tis unreasonable to confine men to method and order, especially when the placing the Exceptions in their right order, would shew their force, and strength, and true meaning, which our Author is not dispos'd to doe, and nothing in the world can make him. Here he hath cram'd together things of a different nature, and made use of to different purposes, and placed also under a head to which none of them belong. *That Dr. Gauden hop'd to make a fortune by it, and the immorality of the practice*, were Exceptions to *Mr. North's Papers*; and the *King's secret intentions, remorse of Conscience, &c.* were urg'd as intrinsic arguments to prove the Book genuine; and here our Author hath rank'd them under *Exceptions to Dr. Walker's account*. A man would imagine he wrote his Answers in loose Papers, and tack'd them together just as they came to hand, without considering whether they belong'd to one thing or another: at this rate we must go to *balloting* for the Controversie, and take the Papers as they arise, after our Author hath jumbled them together; the Reader is likely to be enlightened in the true state of the Case, and to perceive the force of my Exceptions and Proofs, and of his Answers, in such a confused heap: But to place things rightly, and to answer them clearly and distinctly, is not

suitable to the faculties of some Authors, nor to the Cause they maintain. And here I have got a new task, that instead of replying to Answers fairly propos'd, I must first clear my Exceptions and Proofs from that mass of confusion he hath laid them in; and that the Reader may see his way before him, I must separate what he hath huddled together, and fix it in its due order and proper place; and then he may know what it is, and to what purposes us'd, which is impossible for him to doe, as they ly here obscur'd in disorder and confusion.

That which we are now upon is, *the Exceptions to Dr. Walker's account*; and after I had recited all that concern'd the Question in that account, I made these observations upon it:

Vind. p. 16,
 & Seq. 1. "That all that is material in that account, is resolv'd
 "into the Testimony of Dr. Gauden himself.

2. "That what seems to be otherwise, is of no validity
 "at all, nor can have any force with a rational and wise
 "man: and that because,

1. "It only seems to be something more, but in truth it is
 "not; and those expressions which only seem so are, *That*
 "Dr. Gauden shew'd him the heads of divers Chapters, and
 "some of the Discourses written on them, and some time
 "being spent in the perusal; but in truth are not so, for
 "that Dr. Walker did not see him write them, nor say they
 "were written with his own hand. To this our Author
 answers, *I believe he is the only man living that questions*
whether Dr. Walker meant Dr. Gauden's own writing, when
he says, that before the whole was finish'd, Dr. Gauden was
pleas'd to acquaint him with his design, and shew him the
Heads of divers Chapters, with some of the Discourses
written on them, and that Mr. Giffard transcrib'd a Copy of
it. But by his favour, the Question is not what he *meant*,
 but what he *said*: meanings are doubtfull things, and the
 strictness of Evidence is lost, and men cannot support them-
 selves by plain words, when they have recourse to mean-
 ings and constructions. That Dr. Walker meant that Dr.
 Gauden was the Author, no body doubts, but that he meant
 also

also, the Book was written with his own hand, can never be made out by his words, either directly or by necessary consequence; and I am certain, that all the Evidence that *they* have produc'd on that side, is defective in this point: for as for *Mr. Giffard's transcribing a Copy of it*, our Author makes bold with *Dr. Walker*, and stretches a great deal beyond his meaning; for all that he says is, that *Mr. Giffard* transcrib'd a Copy of it, *if I be not much mistaken*; Dr. Walker's Account, p. 5. and he is very fit indeed to interpret *Dr. Walker's meaning*, who makes him assert peremptorily, what he only speaks doubtfully, and with caution and limitation: However, the Reader may perceive already, and much more hereafter, how absolutely necessary it was to unravell his confused web, and to set my Exceptions in their due light and proper places: For the account upon which I urg'd this was to shew, that however it might seem otherwise, yet in truth it was resolv'd into *Dr. Gauden's* own Testimony; and it is a pleasant Answer to that to tell us, *That Dr. Gauden acquainted him with his design*; that is, our Author proves my point instead of answering it, and that is the common effect of confusion; and let *Dr. Walker* mean what he please, let him mean, if he thinks good, that it was in *Dr. Gauden's* hand, the Answer is short and insignificant, except such his meaning would make him also a distinct Evidence to the matter from *Dr. Gauden* himself. Nevertheless, that I may deal fairly, (a method our Author is not acquainted with,) I confess there was a Book written with *Dr. Gauden's* hand, and perhaps *Dr. Walker* might have seen it, and I have (upon good grounds) own'd it sufficiently already, but as it happens, our Author can make no use of it; for if he admits the Testimony, his whole Cause is lost, and the same Evidence that says that there was a Book in *Dr. Gauden's* hand writing, says also that he was not the Author, but the Transcriber; and he must take all or none: nevertheless my observation stands equally firm with and without it, that whatsoever is in *Dr. Walker's* Account, is ultimately resolv'd into *Dr. Gauden's* Testimony; and the Consequence is certain and undeniable.

deniable, that whereas there are several other material circumstances, which not only fortifie a Testimony of this nature, but make it a direct Evidence of it self; as the seeing the Author proceed with it from time to time, seeing corrections and alterations with his own hand; and when those who were the most intimate with Dr. *Gauden*, who liv'd in his house, and were (as they tell us) privy to the Secret, could not say one word to this; when neither Dr. *Walker's* Account, nor Mrs. *Gauden's* Papers, have the least syllable tending to this, and when at the same time we have all this, and more, for King *Charles's* being the Author; when no man ever saw Dr. *Gauden* make any progress in it, add to, or amend it, and when all this is directly and positively asserted of King *Charles*, 'tis a pleasant business that an Evidence so plain and direct in it self, and so full as to all necessary circumstances, must be confronted by that which hath nothing at all of this, and which in it self is no direct Evidence at all, but only a relative Evidence to another Evidence, and which other Evidence also is good for nothing. Our Author here tells us, *that this is all that can be said of any Author in the world*; that is, that Dr. *Gauden* acquainted him with his design, and shew'd him some of the Heads and Chapters written on them: Now if that be all that can be said of any Author in the world, then most certainly King *Charles* was the Author of this Book; for there is all this, and a great deal more too, even the seeing him write it, seeing the progress he made in it, seeing corrections and alterations with his own hand; and I hope that is well proved, and beyond exception, which hath *all*, and more than all, to support it.

But I now come to an Exception indeed, and which our Author will by no means meddle with least it burn his fingers, which turns hard upon Dr. *Walker*, and affects all that he says in this Cause; the other made his Testimony lame, but this makes it false; and that is,

2. " This Evidence Dr. *Walker* hath contradicted himself,
 " in another Testimony of his in the hands of Dr. *Goodall*,
 " and

“ and given March 23. 1690. in these words, *Dr. Walker and* *Vind. p. 19.*
 “ *Mr. Giffard were both privy to these affairs, living together*
 “ *in the Bishop's house, though the Dr. is uncertain whether*
 “ *he ever read the Book in manuscript, or only saw it with its*
 “ *Title of the Chapters :* But about a year after, when Dr.
 “ *Hollingworth* had anger'd him, Dr. Gauden did not on-
 “ ly shew him the Heads, and Discourses, but *after some*
 “ *time spent in the perusal, he vouchsafed to ask my opinion*
 “ *concerning it ;* so that here is not only reading it, but
 “ reading it for some time ; and so reading it, as to give an
 “ opinion and judgment concerning it : and to shew how
 “ well he remembred this, he tells us the very opinion he
 “ gave to Dr. Gauden about it ; and farther yet he adds, *I Dr. Wal-*
 “ *perfectly remember that in the second Chapter, which is of* *ker's Ac-*
 “ *the Death of the Earl of Strafford, there being these* *count, p. 4.*
 “ *words,* He only hath been least vext by them, who coun-
 “ celled me not to consent against the vote of my con-
 “ science ; and which (he says) Dr. Gauden told him he
 “ meant it of Bishop Juxton : so that here we have *peru-*
 “ *sing the Book,* and that not transiently, but for *some time,*
 “ and perfectly remembring the subject matter of one Chap-
 “ ter, and an intire sentence in that Chapter, with a particu-
 “ lar explication relating to it. This is very consistent with his
 “ *being uncertain whether he ever read the Book in manuscript,*
 “ *or only saw it with its Title of the Chapters :* he is *uncer-*
 “ *tain,* and very certain ; he *remembers not,* and he *per-*
 “ *fectly remembers* the same things in the same story ; an
 “ excellent Evidence indeed, and much to be relyed on, who
 “ interferes with himself, and contradicts his own Testi-
 “ mony. And this I take to be a very considerable Ex-
 ception to Dr. Walker's Account, (and so I suppose will all
 men else,) and which affects his whole Testimony, and
 prejudices every thing he has said in this Cause ; for there
 is nothing more lessens the credibility of a Witness, than
 his contradicting himself, and telling two contrary stories
 of the same thing ; and it seems our Author is very well
 contented it should be so, for he hath not one word to say
 to it, nor takes the least notice as if any such Exception
 had

had been made. This is a new way of answering Exceptions: methinks (if he could say nothing else,) he might have taken his own method, and told us (as he did once before) that it was in 90 when he said this, but it was 92, two years after that he wrote his account, and therefore *by his good leave it does not follow* that he contradicted himself: In the mean time, 'tis a gross imposing on the world, to tell them he answers Exceptions, and at the same time never so much as name them. And here we see the artifice of jumbling together things foreign to one another, on purpose to blind his Reader's eyes, that he may not perceive that he hath flunk away the most material Exception; for had he set them in their own order, either he must not have omitted it, or if he had, it would have been easily discovered; but he thought it might escape well enough in the croud, and pass unobserv'd when as he had ordered the matter, no body knew where to find it; but I have brought it to light again, and crave leave to tell him, that 'tis a great blot upon Dr. *Walker's* Account, and 'till he takes care to clear it, as such it will remain, and as such a blot too, which discredits the whole, and makes his Testimony of no value as contradictory to it self.

But this is not all, there is one thing more I had observ'd, to shew the Reader what weight there is to be laid on Dr. *Walker's* assertions; he says, *I am as sure as I can be of any thing, that Dr. Gauden made the Extract out of this Book call'd Apothegmata Carolina;* and yet he is perfectly and notoriously mistaken, for Dr. *Hooker* was the Author of that Book, and not Dr. *Gauden*; and for the proof of this, besides Mr. *Long's* Testimony, (which I had mention'd before,) I have my self seen a Letter from Dr. *Hooker* to Dr. *Goodall*, in which he owns himself to be the Author; and moreover gives an account, that at first he had made it much larger, but afterwards contracted it to a pocket Book which he calls a *Vade mecum*. Now, in my poor opinion, this bears exceeding hard upon Dr. *Walker*, and extremely lessens the credit of his asseverations with all wise men. For if a man can say, and deliberately

print,

Dr. Wal-
ker's Ac-
count, p. 8.

print, *I am as sure as I can be of any thing*, (and that one would think is sure enough, and as much assurance as a man can give,) of a most certain and notorious falsehood, that man's assurances signifie nothing, except it be to assure the world that his word, how solemn soever, is not to be trusted: I am sure Dr. *Walker* cannot affirm with greater confidence, that Dr. *Gauden* was the Author of the *Icon*, than he does that he was the Author of the *Apothegmata*; and one is manifestly false, and by that let any man judge of the other. Nothing is more apparent than that this confident assertion, uttered with the utmost degree of assurance, shakes the credit of his whole Book, and takes off the edge and force of all his asseverations. And what doth our Author say to this? what hath he to offer to uphold the credit of his Witness? why, let Dr. *Walker's* credit sink or swim, 'tis all one to him, he is not to concern himself in these dangerous matters; he is hardned against meddling with any thing that is material, and hath serv'd this just as the other, and (by a way of answering peculiar to himself,) hath not said one word to it.

We now come to those commonly call'd Mr. *North's* Papers: And the first thing our Author takes notice of is, those expressions in my Lord Chancellor *Hyde's* Letter, *The particular you mention, has indeed been imparted to me as a Secret; I am sorry I ever knew it, and when it ceases to be a Secret, it will please none but Mr. Milton.* To this I had said, "Was there no other Secret in the world?" but this, that the divulging of it would gratifie Mr. *Milton*? And to this he answers, *Yes doubtless; but I believe* P. 127. *not one that would please none but Mr. Milton, as the Chancellor expresses it.* Very good: and what does he mean by *None*? If he takes it strictly and grammatically, (as he seems to doe,) for no Person in the world besides Mr. *Milton*, the Answer is both ridiculous and against himself; for our Author and his Party perfectly confutes it; and my Lord Chancellor knew well, that at that time there were enow, and too many, who would be gratified with.

with such a Secret, as the King's not being the Author of that Book; and therefore (according to his interpretation) that could not be the Secret which my Lord Chancellor meant, because that was not appropriated to his person, but extended to all the Regicides, and impenitent Rebels, and their abettors; and though it might please him, yet others would be pleased with it too, as well as he: So that if our Author insists strictly upon this term *none*, his Answer undermines it self; and whatever else the Secret might be, it is impossible it should be this that my Lord Chancellor meant in his Letter. However, let it mean Mr. *Milton* alone and singly, or let it mean him with others, or what he please, 'tis all one to me, my Answer is the same, These are mysticall expressions, and prove nothing; and tho my Lord Chancellor and Dr. *Gauden* might understand them well enough, yet no body else can, and much less draw any argument or proof from them; for whatever, that Secret was, my Lord Chancellor's meaning is no less a Secret; and to argue from such things, is to grope in the dark, and to dispute by Prophecie. But our Author hath a Reason, *For he (Mr. Milton) having particularly question'd the genuineness of this Book, and offer'd a fair proof of the spuriousness thereof, from intrinsick Evidence only, without any farther light, would be extremely pleas'd to find his reasonings and judgment confirm'd by undeniable matters of fact.* Well, this is a Reason that such a discovery would gratifie Mr. *Milton*, which no body doubts; but it is no Reason to prove that That was my Lord Chancellor's meaning, which is the only thing to be proved: Our Author was much at leisure sure to give Reasons why Mr. *Milton* would be pleas'd; there is no question but he would be pleas'd with that, and with a great many other things too, as bad as that; but our Author is very free of his Reasons upon all occasions but such as need it. The Question here is not, upon what Reasons Mr. *Milton* would be pleased, whether upon these or any other, or none at all; but what were the Reasons that induc'd my Lord Chancellor to make use of those Expressions? and ex-

cept

cept our Author can tell that, his Answer is benighted, and hath lost its way; he hath made some Reasons for Mr. *Milton*, but except he can make some for my Lord Chancellor too, he says nothing, nor speaks to the Case before us.

But whatever might be the meaning of those Expressions, that my Lord Chancellor did not by them mean the Secret of Dr. *Gauden's* being the Author of this Book, I had produc'd an undeniable and satisfactory proof, from a Letter I had the honour to receive from the Right Honourable the present Earl of *Clarendon*, my Lord Chancellor's Son, containing, among other things, " That his Lordship preparing to attend his Father in *France*, in the beginning of the Summer 1674. his Lordship went first to *Farnham*, to the late Bishop of *Winton*; and among severall things he had in charge from the Bishop to his Father, he bad him tell him, that the King had very ill people about him, who turn'd all things into ridicule; that they endeavour'd to bring him to have a mean opinion of his Father, and to persuade him that he was not the Author of the Book which goes under his Name: And (when after his Lordship's arrival in *France*, he had deliver'd his Father these particulars among others,) to that concerning the Book, his Father reply'd, *Good God! I thought the Marquis of Hartford had satisfied the King in that matter.* From hence (our Author says, and says truly,) I would infer, that my Lord Chancellor did not believe any other besides King *Charles* the First to be the Author, and that he wondred any should go about to persuade King *Charles* the Second to question it. This is the first time our Author hath represented my sense fairly, and I thank him for it, and should be glad to encourage him; and if he will continue to doe so, I shall never find fault with him, let him make his Answers as strong as he can, and the stronger the better. And thus it follows, *But for my part, P. 110. I think it very plain on the contrary, that he believed King Charles the First not to be the Author, and wondered that King Charles the Second should not understand so much from the Marquis of Hartford: who as Dr. Walker and Mrs. Gau-*

den inform us, was the person that carried the *Manuscript* to the King in the Isle of Wight; and next to Dr. Gauden himself, was best able to convince his Son of the truth. This our Author saith is *very plain to him*, which I have nothing to doe to question; but before it can be made plain to others, he ought to have shewed the connexion and coherence that is between this and the information given to my Lord Chancellor, and to what part of the information this sense of the words is directed; for I suppose our Author will not deny, that this *wonder* and *surprize* was occasion'd by what was then told to his Lordship. And thus it is according to our Author, my Lord *Clarendon* informs his Father, that there were *very ill people endeavouring to persuade the King that his Father was not the Author of the Book*; upon which my Lord Chancellor falls into a passionate exclamation, that the Marquis of *Hartford* had not inform'd the King before, and saved those ill people the labour. This is a very sad thing, and much to be admir'd. My Lord Chancellor is inform'd that there were very ill people about the King, acting suitable to their character, and endeavouring to persuade him to two very bad things; first to have a mean opinion of his Father, and in order to that, to persuade him that he was not the Author of his Book; and now comes our Author and makes his Lordship so full of admiration, as to justify and confirm their ill practices: *Good God!* that there should be so much iniquity in the world, and such ill people as to persuade the King to a matter, and he not understand the same before from my Lord Marquis. This is indeed wonderfully surpising; but 'tis that any man should make such a construction of his Lordship's expressions: And by his favour, these expressions denote not only a surprize, but a resentment also, and aversion in his Lordship to what was then told him; and this makes our Author's interpretation yet more pleasant, his Lordship expresses a great dislike and dissatisfaction of what was then told him; and in the same breath confirms it: He wonders that wicked people should undertake to persuade the King, and wonders

ders too, that the King was not already perswaded by the Lord Marquis, who (according to our Author,) was the next best person able to convince him. But why the next best, and not the best of all? Our Author contends that Dr. *Gauden* inform'd my Lord Chancellor of the Secret, and he was convinc'd by him; and why did not his Lordship name him to satisfy the King, rather than the Lord Marquis? Our Author says *the Marquis of Hartford, next to Dr. Gauden himself, was best able*; but if Dr. *Gauden* satisfied his Lordship himself, and was best able too to satisfy the King, why should not the wonder have been that Dr. *Gauden* had not inform'd the King? Well, however that be, our Author forgets that he is contradicting the very thing he contends for: He would here persuade us, that those expressions in my Lord Chancellor's Letter mean that his Lordship was acquainted with the Secret of Dr. *Gauden's* being the Author; and yet (whatever that Secret was) his Lordship does not speak very favourably of it: *I am sorry I ever knew it, and when it ceases to be a Secret, it will please none but Mr. Milton.* But here it seems, and (as our Author would have it,) upon the same Secret too, he makes his Lordship wonderfully surpriz'd and concern'd, that the King should not understand it.

In the mean time, it may not be unusefull to observe the design those *ill men* had in *endeavouring to persuade the King that his Father was not the Author*, which was to bring him to have a *mean opinion of his Father*; this was the end of those attempts upon the King, and 'tis the very same that is still prosecuted, and by the same means. The Book must be blasted for the sake of its Author, and the memory of that incomparable Prince is to partake of the aspersions cast upon his Works, and therefore they go allways hand in hand together; those who fall upon the Book, are as foul upon his Person and Memory, and would fain make his Vertues spurious, as well as his Book; they care not who was the Author, and I dare say, would immediately quit the Controverſie, provided they could persuade the world to have an ill opinion of him, and extinguish

tinguish the horreur of his Martyrdom. And when the *King's Image* is the Image of his Vertues too, when there are so many full streams of piety running quite through it, this is the grand objection, and not to be endur'd; they have painted him a Monster, of the foulest lineaments and proportions, and therefore will not suffer that Picture of his own Soul, which is so exceeding lovely and beautiful, to be drawn by his own hand. But should the Regicides have gain'd their point, and intirely stifled this Book, and should these men succeed in their attempts, and rob him of the honour of it, there are besides remaining so many noble monuments of his vertue and piety, as would be abundantly sufficient to transmit to posterity the glory of his name, and the impiety of his murder; his Blood would lye still as heavy on their hands, and complicated with the same execrable additions of murdering an excellent Prince, and a very holy and innocent man. But to return.

Those expressions of my Lord Chancellor are plain enough, and it requires a great deal more difficulty to mistake, than not to apprehend them; and there needs no more than putting the Information and the Answer together: The Information is, *there were very ill people about the King, who endeavour'd to persuade him, that his Father was not the Author*; the Answer is, *Good God! I thought the Marquis of Hartford had satisfied the King in that matter*. And what now does this surprize refer to? Apparently to the practices of those ill people; and my Lord Chancellor expressed his wonder and resentment, that those ill people should have the confidence to persuade the King that his Father was not the Author, when his Lordship had all the reason in the world to believe that the Marquis of *Hartford* had long before satisfied the King that his Father was the Author. This is not only an easy and natural construction of the words, but 'tis impossible there should be any other, and preserve the sense intire, and consistent with that Information given to his Lordship. But that I might give all satisfaction

in this case, I made bold to write to the Right Honourable the present Earl of *Clarendon*, and humbly desired, in what sense his Lordship took those words of his Father; (and certainly no person so fit to interpret the meaning, as the same who gave the information, and with whom was the discourse;) and his Lordship was pleased to do me the honour to write me an Answer; which being so very full to the point in hand, together with other excellent observations relating to the matter, I humbly beg his Lordship's pardon for making it publick. His Lordship's Letter follows *verbatim*.

May the 5. 1699.

Sir,

I would not answer your Letter of the 29th of the last Month till I had read Amyntor, (the Pamphlet you mention,) which truly I had not done when I receiv'd it. And now I have read it, I cannot but stand amazed at the impudence of the Author, for the construction he makes of what my Father said, upon what I told him from the Bishop of Winchester, (Dr. Morley,) speaking of the endeavours were used to possess King Charles the Second with a mean opinion of his Father, and that he was not the Author of the Book which goes under his name: The words were these, Good God! (said my Father,) I thought the Marquis of Hartford had satisfied the King in that matter. I confess, I understood these words in a quite different sense from the Author of Amyntor; namely, that my Father thought the Marquis of Hartford had satisfied King Charles the Second that his Father was the Author of that Book which goes under his name; and the rather, because I never heard my Father let fall the least word, as if he doubted the King's being the Author of that Book. I cannot but observe that Mrs. Gauden in her Narrative printed in Amyntor, says that her Husband meeting with Dr. Morley, he fell into discourse how sensible he was of the great services which he had done his present Majesty, and the Royal Family, in
complotting

composing and setting forth that excellent piece called the King's Book. *If this were true, that Bishop Morley knew that Bishop Gauden had composed the King's Book, and that he had acquainted Sir Edward Hyde with it. (as the Narrative says,) I leave it to you, or any one, to judge whether it were possible that Bishop Morley could hold that discourse with me which I have mention'd: Every body then knew the intimacy and friendship I had with that good Bishop, and he very well knew how intirely I was trusted by my Father; so that 'twas impossible the Bishop could make that complaint to me of the endeavours used to persuade the King, that his Father was not the Author of the Book which goes under his name, if he had known or believed that Bishop Gauden had composed it: and I am confident my Father would have laugh'd at the Bishop of Winchester for sending such an errand by me, if he had believ'd Bishop Gauden to have been the Author of that Book; and I do verily believe my Father would have told me upon that occasion, if he had had the least intimation that Bishop Gauden had composed it. I wish what I have here told you may be satisfactory to you, or of any use to the honest Cause you defend. I am, Sir,*

Your, &c.

Clarendon.

And now I suppose the Reader is abundantly satisfied, and that not only in the particular case before us, but also of other points very material in this Controversie; and 'tis from hence exceedingly clear and convincing, not only what was the true sense of my Lord Chancellor's expressions, but also that neither my Lord Chancellor, nor Bishop Morley, knew or believ'd the least tittle of Dr. Gauden's being the Author of this Book; and this perfectly confutes both our Author's interpretation of these expressions, and of those in my Lord Chancellor's Letter, and also Mrs. Gauden's Narrative, But I shall not need to remark any thing from my Lord Clarendon's Letter, which is so very full and satisfactory of it self, and therefore I proceed.

Our

Our Author to confirm his interpretation tells us, that *the Marquis of Hartford, as Dr. Walker and Mrs. Gauden inform us, was the person who carried the Manuscript to the King in the Isle of Wight, and so next to Dr. Gauden, best able to convince his Son.* Now if the interpretation of my Lord Chancellor's surprize before set down be true, (and I will leave it with any Reader in the world,) then it follows, that *Dr. Walker's and Mrs. Gauden's informations are both false.* The Marquis of *Hartford* never carried such a Manuscript to the *Isle of Wight*, and my Lord Chancellor knew that his Lordship's abilities tended the other way, and he was well able to convince the King that his Father was the Author. However our Author adds, *Moreover, how could the Bishop of Winton imagine the ill people about Charles II. could bring him to doubt of his Father's being the Author, if he really knew it to be written by him? when upon this supposition, he was rather capable of satisfying all those who had any scruples in this affair.* Well, whatever the Bishop might imagine, I am sure our Author's imagination is extremely wild; it seems with him 'tis very unaccountable that *ill people* should go about to persuade the King to any matter contrary to his knowledge or belief; I suppose because Kings are the securest people in the world, and have neither flatterers nor hypocrites about them: But when such pests are allways hovering about Majesty, and make no manner of scruple to persuade Kings contrary to what they know themselves, 'tis very much indeed that they should dare to offer any thing contrary to their belief: And the very character of the persons sufficiently accounts for this; they were *ill people*, and consequently stuck at nothing, how base, unreasonable or false soever; and it is a strange thing it seems, that the Bishop of *Winton* should imagine that *ill people* should do ill things. But whatever may be said of the people, how could the Bishop imagine that these ill people should gain their point, and *bring the King to doubt, when the King himself could have satisfied them to the contrary?* But this imagination is all his own, there is not one word of the

King's doubting, or any thing like it, in the Bishop's message, which relates nothing at all to any effect it had, or was like to have on the King, but only to the *endeavours of those ill people*; but he can represent nothing fairly. However since we are upon *imaginations*, I have something to exercise his faculty upon, and in order to that I make bold to repeat my Lord *Clarendon's* observation out of Mrs. *Gauden's* Narrative, and to add something to his Lordship's excellent remarks upon it, and in pag. 122. of his own Book, he will find these words, *And Dr. Gauden meeting with Dr. Morley, he fell into discourse how sensible he was of the great service he had done his present Majesty and the Royal Family, in composing and setting forth that excellent peice call'd the King's Book; and afterwards, Dr. Morley also told him, that he had acquainted Sir Edward Hyde with the business, and that he did very much commend and admire it.* And to make this matter yet surer, she tells, that this discourse with Dr. *Morley* encourag'd her Husband to proceed in the business, and to speak to Dr. *Sheldon* &c. Here we have (according to Mrs. *Gauden*,) Dr. *Morley* owning to Dr. *Gauden* himself his knowledge that he was the Author, and the great services he had thereby done to the Crown; and farther the same Dr. *Morley* acquainting my Lord Chancellor with it, and that his Lordship very much commended it. And now let our Author or any Man else imagine,

1. Whether Bishop *Morley* could represent those as *very ill men*, and consequently those *very ill practices*, which tended to persuade the King *that his Father was not the Author*, if he himself knew it to be certainly true.

2. Whether Bishop *Morley* could send such a *mock message* to any person in the world, and much less to a person of Honour, and by a person of my Lord *Clarendon's* character and quality.

3. Whether he could send this, especially to my Lord Chancellor, if it was Bishop *Morley* himself who acquainted my Lord Chancellor that Dr. *Gauden* was the Author.

“ other services that Dr. *Gauden* had done besides ? or at
 “ least that he might plead, whether he had done them or
 “ not ? Was it not possible for Dr. *Gauden* to have, or pre-
 “ tended to have done like a King, *i.e.* freely and magnifi-
 “ cently (as that Scripture expression means in the case
 “ of *Araunab*) but this single instance ? And need our Au-
 thor be told wherein the force of this Answer consists ?
 There are general Expressions in Dr. *Gauden*’s Petition and
 Letter, which the Advocates on that side will needs have
 to mean writing the Book ; and the Answer is, what ne-
 cessity is there for that, seeing there might be other ser-
 vices which Dr. *Gauden* actually had done, or at least might
 pretend it ? And whoever will answer that, must shew that
 Dr. *Gauden* neither did, nor could pretend to any other,
 or that those Expressions directly, or by necessary implica-
 tion, mean the being the Author of that Book, which ’tis
 impossible for them to doe : For by what construction does
great services mean nothing else but composing that very
 Book ? and why does *doing like a King* mean writing a
 Book in the King’s name ? for those very expressions (from
 2 Sam. 24. whence Dr. *Gauden* borrowed them) mean quite other-
 wise ; for I hope *Araunab*’s offering to give to King *David*
 a Treshing-floor and materials for Sacrifice, did not mean
 personating him, and counterfeiting his name ; but they
 mean, and mean only, giving freely and generously without
 being paid for them, or expecting any retribution or re-
 compense : But the services Dr. *Gauden* had done, or
 might plead he had done, though he never did them, what-
 ever he pretended, were not done *like a King*, but *like a*
mercenary, for he not only expected, but was clamorous for
 a reward. But this, it seems, was out of our Author’s
 province, he is for letting the Answer alone, to stand or
 fall at the mercy of the Reader ; and instead of that
 spends his time in picking up something here and there, and
 flourishing upon them, but even then will not give a satis-
 factory Answer : For as to those two Books, and the pro-
 bability of that being the plea Dr. *Gauden* made to the
 King, our Author thus answers, *Those could not be termed*
such

such extraordinary services, when many others had done the same, and more; as if nothing could be called *extraordinary*, because the like or better had been done by several others, whereas *extraordinary* is oppos'd to *ordinary*, *common*, *usuall*, and whatsoever is out of the common road may be termed extraordinary. Suppose I should say our Author here gives an extraordinary Answer, (and that term is equally applicable to mean as to great services;) will he think to discharge himself, by saying others have given as bad or worse? However, that is not Dr. Gauden's Expression, but he terms them *Great Services*; and I hope a man may think his own services great enough, without any diminution to others, who have done as great or greater: And indeed the true way of construing those Expressions, is not to try them by the strictest sense the words will bear, but by considering them as coming from Dr. Gauden himself, as being his own representation of his own merits; and then I suppose they may be interpreted with some grains of allowance: Here he himself, for want of a better, was pleading his own merits for preferment, and I hope a little Rhetorick may be allow'd in such cases, and a man may make the best of his own Cause; and therefore I will grant our Author, that neither of those two Books, nor any other of Dr. Gauden's services were *extraordinary*, or *King-like*, if you are resolv'd to take those words in a strict sense; but if a man may be admitted to be his own Orator, I cannot say but those, and a great many other epithets as fair as they, may be ascrib'd to far less performances than either of those two Books.

In the mean time, and as an addition to our Author's great exactness, here are two other very material things, which he hath totally pass'd over, and does not think them worth the naming;

1. That if all they alleadge were admitted, if those expressions did in truth mean that he was the Author, it would be only the single Testimony of Dr. Gauden himself; but this is a point he hath allways industriously avoided, and will not be prevail'd with to speak one word

to it, though it concerns the Cause he pretends to maintain, as much at least, if not a great deal more, than any thing he hath taken notice of. But I shall have occasion hereafter to take more particular notice of his gross omissions in this kind.

2. " That this plainly contradicts Dr. *Walker's* Evidence, which is, that Dr. *Gauden* told him *he could not positively and certainly say, that King Charles the second knew that he wrote the Book*; and it would look very ridiculous to present a petition to that King, and to use it as an instance to recommend him to his favour, that in behalf of the Royal Family, *he had done like a King*, meaning he had writ the Book, and at the same time *not know* whether that King knew he was the Author of it. Now all this stands just before those things our Author hath mentioned, and I hope 'tis no immodest question to ask how they came to escape him? are Contradictions such small things as not to be worth the reconciling? But I find Dr. *Walker* is but little beholding to him, for let him contradict himself, or let him contradict Dr. *Gauden*, (as he interprets him,) 'tis all one to him, he will afford him no help; and except there be some other charitable person to remove those rubs out of the way, there they must lye for our Author; 'tis enough for him to tell a few stories, and to mangle the Cause, let other people take care of the Arguments and Contradictions. Well, though our Author hath forgot these, it may be there are other Contradictions he can turn his hand to; and this is the next thing:

The Contradictions between Dr. *Walker's* Account and Mrs. *Gauden's* Narrative. *It is objected* (saith he) *that Dr. Walker's and Mrs. Gauden's Testimonies contradict one another, but how? Dr. Walker says that Dr. Gauden told him, he did not know if King Charles the First had seen the Book; but Mrs. Gauden affirms, that the Marquis of Hartford told her Husband the King had seen and approv'd it.* This is our Author's representation of the matter, but how lamely and imperfectly, and like himself, we shall

see presently, but first let us take his Answer: *Both which assertions are consistent enough together, for Dr. Gauden might be ignorant that the King had seen it when Dr. Walker ask'd him that Question, who perhaps never mention'd it to him again in their discourses about this matter, or might easily forget it, as he says he did several other particulars, little foreseeing he should ever be oblig'd to make this discovery; and besides, we must upon all accounts allow his Wife to know more circumstances of this business, as of most others, than his friend.* Well, I perceive our Author is allways for reconciling Contradictions by Chronology, but he hath the worst hand at it that ever I saw: Dr. Gauden (saith he) *might be ignorant of it when Dr. Walker ask'd him that Question.* Now here are two things to be inquired into, First, When Dr. Gauden is said to have known that the King *saw it, and approv'd it*; and Secondly, When Dr. Walker ask'd him the Question: And as to the first, Mrs. Gauden's Narrative informs us, and after the recital of the information given him by the Marquis of Hartford adds, *upon this* P. 118. *(i. e. upon the Marquis's telling him all the discourse with the King,) my Husband told my Lord Marquis, that in his opinion there was no way so probable to save his Majesty's life, as by endeavouring to move the hearts, &c. and that he thought that that Book would be effectual to that purpose. Then my Lord had him doe what he would. ----- Then immediately my Husband resolv'd to print it with all speed, ----- only he then added the Essay upon their denying his Majesty the attendance of his Chaplains, and the Meditation of Death after the Votes of Non-addresses.* So that here we have three periods of time, and each of them sufficient for our purpose; 'twas before his Majesty's death, before the Book was sent to the Press, and before the addition of two Chapters. Next let us enquire when Dr. Walker ask'd him the Question, and that Dr. Walker tells us in express terms in these words, Dr. Gauden *some time after the King was murther'd, upon my asking him whether the King had ever seen the Book, gave me this Answer, I know it certainly no more than you:* So that when Dr. Walker ask'd

Dr. Walker's Account, p. 5

ask'd the Question, and receiv'd the Answer, *it was some time after the King's murder*, and that's a considerable time after the Marquis inform'd Dr. Gauden that the King had seen and approv'd it, according to Mrs. Gauden; so that our Author hath fairly compromis'd the business: Dr. Gauden *might be ignorant that the King had seen it when Dr. Walker ask'd the Question*, meaning a Month or two after he had been told it; a very fair reconciliation, and the assertions very consistent: our Author had as good have drop'd this Contradiction as well as the other, except he could have found some better Answer to it. But our Author to supply and help this out, hath another Answer, *or (Dr. Walker) might easily forget it, as he says he did several other particulars*. Forget what? Why, *when Dr. Gauden told him*: But Dr. Walker is as positive to the time as to the thing, and if he forgot one he might forget the other too, and by the same reason he hath forgot all his Book; and 'tis nothing else but the effect of a bad memory, which I shall readily grant; and our Author's reason helps the matter much, *as he says he did severall other particulars*; that is, because Dr. Walker forgot what he did not mention, therefore he also forgot what he hath mention'd; and if a man forgets what he does not say and what he does say too, he is an excellent Evidence, and of extraordinary credit. Sure our Author owes Dr. Walker a spite, he treats him so courly at every turn; he suffers him to contradict himself, Dr. Gauden, and Mrs. Gauden, and at last hath made him to forget his own Testimony. But there is another Answer yet behind, *We must upon all accounts allow his Wife to know more circumstances of this business, as of most others, than his friend*: Very well, and let that be allow'd, but I suppose no body will allow upon any account that she knew *contradictory circumstances*; and the Question is not whether she or Dr. Walker knew more or less of the business, but whether they both knew what is contradictory in the same business; and it is a fine business indeed, which will admit of two persons knowing contradictions about it. Dr. Walker (if he may
be

be believ'd) knew that after the King's murther, Dr. *Gauden* knew no more than himself, whether the King had ever seen it; but Mrs. *Gauden* (if she may be believ'd) knew the clean contrary, that her Husband long before knew that the King had both seen and approv'd it. Now this Testimony having but one small encumbrance upon it, that 'tis utterly impossible; I suppose all indifferent men will conclude that neither of them knew any thing of the matter.

Before I go any farther, I must undertake the task our Author allways sets me, and recite the material omissions he hath made of the Contradictions that relate to this branch of the Evidence, and such also as do directly and in plain terms confute his Answer.

In Mrs. *Gauden's* Evidence, the Marquis told her Husband *the King liked it well, and asked whether it could not be put out in some other name*; and the Narrative says *that Bishop Duppa read some of the Essays to him*: In Dr. *Walker's*, Dr. *Gauden* *ventur'd to print it, and never knew what was the issue of sending it*. So that here we have not only a gross Contradiction, but withall, a perfect confutation of our Author's Chronology; for *when* was it that Dr. *Gauden* *never knew the issue*? why, when he *ventur'd to print it*: and yet Mrs. *Gauden* says, that all that information from the Marquis, was not only before the actual sending to the Press, but before he had taken any resolution to doe it; *Then* (says she) *immediately my Husband resolv'd to print it with all speed*. Then, that is, after the Marquis had told him the whole transaction with the King, and Dr. *Gauden* had given his opinion upon it, *my Lord bad my Husband to doe what he would, in regard the case was desperate*; and then he resolv'd to print it, upon that liberty the Lord Marquis had given him. So that according to Dr. *Walker*, he *ventur'd to print it, and never knew what was the issue of sending it*; according to Mrs. *Gauden*, he was compleatly inform'd of the whole matter, and had my Lord Marquis's leave, before he resolv'd to print it: and in farther confirmation of this,

P. 118.

Dr. Walker

Dr. Walker adds, *when the thing was done, he judged it not prudent to make any farther noise about it by inquiry*; which is another perfect contradiction to all and every thing that Mrs. Gauden says on this head, and as perfect a confutation of our Author; for, *when the thing was done*, that is, when the Book was printed. So that from first to last, he knew nothing of what the Marquis said to the King, or the King to the Marquis; and thought it moreover the wisest course to keep himself still in ignorance, least he should make too much noise about it; but according to Mrs. Gauden, there was neither need of his *prudence* or *inquiry*, for all the noise had been made already, and he had been fully inform'd of the whole matter. But these are things our Author will by no means take notice of, although an indifferent person will be apt to think they need some of his help; but here his Chronology fails him, and he hath nothing else to say, and therefore 'tis better to follow Dr. Gauden's prudence, and *make no noise about it*.

Our Author goes on, *The next supposed Contradiction is, that Dr. Walker says Dr. Gauden once told him after the Restauration, that he did not positively and certainly know if King Charles the Second knew he wrote Icon Basilike, though he believ'd he might, because the Duke of York did, and own'd it to have been a seasonable and acceptable service: But Mrs. Gauden affirms, that her Husband acquainted the King with it himself, which is very true: but pray let us examine at what time; after his discourse with Dr. Walker, most certainly; for doth she not in clear and direct terms say, that it was in his last sickness, which prov'd mortal to him? and the reason was, because some persons desir'd to have it concealed, to which he was not willing, by reason of his numerous family &c.* Now here our Author strains hard to accommodate matters, and bring both ends together; but he takes the worst course in the world, and prevaricates both with Dr. Walker and Mrs. Gauden, to peice their Testimony, and make them consistent; for to clear that peremptory assertion, that Dr. Gauden

Gauden acquainted the King, (affirm'd by Mrs. Gauden,) was *after that discourse with Dr. Walker, most certainly*; he adds, *for does she not in clear and direct terms say that it was in his last sickness, which prov'd mortal to him?* I answer, No indeed, she does not; for to say it in *direct terms* is (as I take it) to say it in those terms, or at least in terms directly implying it; but she neither expresses it in those terms, nor in the sense those terms are commonly taken; and all that she does say is, *that God* P. 124. *visited her Husband with an infirmity, which he had great cause to fear would (as it did) prove mortal to him:* But then it was such an infirmity, as neither hindred him from conversing with his friends, or following his affairs; but that would not doe, and therefore it is. to be called his *last sickness*, as if it had been upon his Death-bed, and Dr. Walker had no opportunity to discourse him after: But this is clouding the business instead of reconciling it. Why did not he tell us fairly, that this *last sickness* (if he is resolv'd to have it so) was such a sickness, in which Mrs. Gauden represents him to have done the most considerable actions of his life; that after he was visited with this infirmity, he went to the King, acquainted him with the matter, appeal'd to Bishop Dupper (who was then living, though ill,) for the truth of it; that upon that the King promised him the Bishoprick of *Winchester*, and that afterwards being vacant, was dispos'd to Bishop *Murley*, and the King gave him *Worcester*, and he was translated from *Exeter* thither? This is Mrs. Gauden's account of the matter, and 'tis wonderfull indeed, that when Dr. Gauden's *last sickness* was so rapid and violent, that he persv'd his interest with all diligence and application, ply'd at Court in person, took several journeys, and was remov'd from one Bishoprick to another; that any body should be so unreasonable as to think he could discourse Dr. Walker after he had been seiz'd with such a mortal distemper. He had better by half have said, that in Dr. Gauden's last sickness his affairs were so many and tumultuary, that what with his attendance at Court, his long journeys, his frequent re-

moves, he was not at leisure to talk with Dr. Walker; and this would have been something, how ill soever it would have agreed with the character of a *last sickness*; but to insinuate as if he had been just expiring, and then told the King for the benefit of his family, and presently dyed, is to abuse Mrs. Gauden as well as his Reader. But he is so taken up with the spuriousness of Authors, that his notion slides into his practice, and he counterfeits what he takes in hand. Mrs. Gauden calls it an *infirmity*, and that it seems a pretty lasting one too; and our Author to serve his purpose, coins it into his *last sickness*, to impose upon his Readers, and give them one thing for another. Well, if this *last sickness* will not account for the Contradiction, our Author hath no more to say, and the Reader must reconcile it himself, or else be contented with it. It was unkindly done of Mrs. Gauden, to name I know not how many things her Husband did after this *last sickness*, whereas she might as well have let them alone, or at least postpon'd his acquainting the King, and laid it nearer his death, and then our Author could have reconcil'd it well enough; but since she hath laid it so awkwardly, as Dr. Walker might have discours'd him over and over, notwithstanding twenty such last sicknesses, 'tis a knotty business, and our Author will embark himself no farther in it; he will not so much as tell us that Dr. Walker *might easily forget it*, or that Mrs. Gauden *knew more of her Husband's mind and actions than other people*: For Dr. Walker, (I suppose never expecting to be contradicted by Mrs. Gauden,) hath expressly affirm'd that he discours'd Dr. Gauden about the Book, after he was Bishop of Worcester elect, which is after all those periods of time in Mrs. Gauden's Narrative, after the seizing of that infirmity, (which our Author calls his last sickness,) after Bishop Duppa died, after Bishop Morley was remov'd to Winchester, and Dr. Gauden elected to Worcester. His words are, *I once asking him, (for we seldom were in private but somewhat was discours'd of this Book, even to the last time I saw him after he was Lord Bishop of Worcester elect,) whether that*

Dr. Walker's Account, p. 5.

King

King Charles the second knew that he wrote it, he gave me this Answer, I cannot positively and certainly say he doth, because he was never pleased to take express notice of it to me. And not content with this, he more roundly affirms the same thing, in disputing against Dr. Hollingworth. Whereas 'tis said Dr. Gauden told King Charles the Second he made the Book; he will not by any means permit Dr. Hollingworth to say so, but roundly answers, whoever said so, (let Mrs. Gauden look to her self,) said what was not so; he never told him, (and never I suppose will go near to extend to his last sickness, and a little farther,) and as if that was not enough, he still adds, 'tis strange he should himself tell the King, and yet not know the King knew it, but by inference, because the Duke of York did. So that here we have not only Dr. Walker's Testimony, but the same confirm'd by repeated assertions from himself; but how to reconcile it to Mrs. Gauden's Narrative is a task too difficult for me, and I perceive for our Author too; wherein 'tis affirm'd not only that he told the King himself, but also a long story about it, of his reasons of so doing, and a particular discourse of the King's concerning it; and if these be not flat Contradictions, for my part I never expect to know what it is for Witnesses to contradict each other.

Having thus dispatch'd his Answers, 'tis time to come to another part, (which he takes especial care shall never be wanting,) and that is, his unfairness in concealing the two following instances.

In D. Walker's Evidence, Dr. Gauden takes it for granted that the King knew it, because he is sure the Duke of York doth; and he knowing it, he does not question but the King also doth: But in Mrs. Gauden's, he acquainted the King first, and the Duke afterwards, as Mrs. Gauden expressly, that he afterwards acquainted the Duke of York, that he was the Author; and the Duke answer'd he had thought his Father wrote it: and to confirm this she says, he then told his Highness, that the King had promis'd him

the Bishoprick of Winchester; and therefore this telling the Duke must be after that promise, which Mrs. Gauden says was at the same time that he told the King.

In Dr. Walker's, the reason of Dr. Gauden's assurance that the Duke knew it was, for that he had spoken of it to him, and own'd it as a seasonable and acceptable service; but in Mrs. Gauden's, that he had acquainted the Duke himself.

Now here are two staring Contradictions, and which I had expressly charg'd upon this Testimony; but our Author, I suppose because he had no Chronology ready, hath even left them as a couple of stubborn things not fit to be meddled with: But this is not all his unfairness, for he hath totally suppress'd and left out this whole matter, in the account he gives us of this affair; the Narrative he hath printed is mutilate and imperfect, (upon what reason he best knows,) but he pretends to supply it out of the Abstract, and he himself tells us, it is a *faithfull Extract made out of it before severall learned and worthy persons*: and all that is above recited, is in that Extract, and not one word of it in what he hath repeated out of it; and yet he tells his Reader *he would give him the substance of it*; and there is not the least mention of the Duke of York, or any thing that related to him, only *that he assur'd him of his favour*. I shall give the Reader the whole Paragraph, *That he afterwards acquainted the Duke of York* Truth brought to light, p. 39. *te that he was the Author of the Book which went under his Father's name, and that the Duke answer'd, he had thought that his Father wrote it: that her Husband then told his Highness that the King had promised him the Bishoprick of Winchester, and that his Highness assur'd him of his favour.* And now comes our Author, and by virtue of giving the *substance*, hath only the last words, *that the Duke assur'd him of his favour*, and hath left out all the rest as superfluous circumstance: So that I find by *substance* our Author doth not mean *the sense contracted, and in short*, but the substance of the thing; and I must needs allow him, that if ever Dr. Gauden told the Duke, the substance was
the

the Duke's favour; as if ever he told the King, the substance was a Bishoprick, and all the rest was mere shadow, something perhaps in appearance, but in reality nothing at all. In the mean time, this is fine dealing, and our Author can neither be trusted with my Arguments, nor with his own Cause, and what he cannot Answer in both, he shuffles out of the way; he first suppresses my Objections, and then that no body may perceive it, suppresses the thing it self: This is practising upon a Cause, instead of defending it, and I shall leave the Reader to give a name to it, and to judge of such proceedings as he sees occasion.

And thus I have done with what our Author hath to offer on this head; but I do not yet think fit to leave it, till I have laid down an intire scheme of the Contradictions that are between *Dr. Walker's* and *Mrs. Gauden's* Testimony; and I doe it for these two Reasons, 1. That the Reader may have at once a full and compleat view of them before him: And 2. That our Author shall have no possible way to mistake or conceal them; but if he thinks fit to reply, he must either fairly reconcile them, or confess he cannot, and give up the Cause. And I shall set down those I have already observed, and add some others which I have since taken notice of from *Mrs. Gauden's Narrative*, which our Author hath printed, and I shall set them in Columns opposite to one another.

Dr. Walker.

1. *Dr. Gauden* did not certainly know, and no more than *Dr. Walker* himself, whether the King had ever seen the Book.

2. He never knew what was the issue of sending it.

Mrs. Gauden.

1. The Marquis of *Hartford* deliver'd it to the King, and told him who the Author was.

2. His Majesty having some of the Fillys read to him by Bishop *Duppa*, did exceedingly approve of them; and ask'd whether they could

Dr. Walker.

3. He ventur'd to *print it*, without knowing the issue.

4. When the thing was done, he judg'd it not prudent to make farther noise about it, by enquiry.

5. Bishop Duppa wrote two Chapters, on the *Ordinance against the Common Prayer Book*, and the *denying his Majesty the attendance of his Chaplains*, which Dr. Gauden own'd, and never pretended to have written those.

6. If the Title was *Suspiria Regalia*, it was one of the King's Corrections.

7. Some time before the whole was finish'd the Title was the *Pourtraiture*, &c. when Dr. Gauden first shew'd it me, the Title was as is printed.

8. The proof Sheets, and other papers, were taken at Mr. Simmons's Lodging, upon a particular pique, by a Lieu-

Mrs. Gauden.

not be put out in some other name, &c.

3. After he had been inform'd of the issue, he thought the Book might be effectual to move the hearts of the people, and my Lord Marquis bad him doe what he would.

4. When my Lord Marquis had fully inform'd him, and left him to his own liberty, then immediately he resolv'd to print it.

5. He resolv'd to print it, only he then added the Essay upon *their denying his Majesty the attendance of his Chaplains*, and the *Meditation of Death*, after the Votes of Non-addresses.

6. The Title which he then gave it was *Suspiria Regalia*.

7. Upon sending it to the Press, my Husband did then alter the Title of it, and called it *Icon Basiliæ*.

8. When it was about half printed, those in power found the Press where it was printing, and likewise a Letter of
tenant

Dr. Walker.

tenant and six Troopers; but restor'd so as Mr. *Simmons* missed not one paper, all being return'd the next day, and no time to examine the papers.

9. Bishop *Juxton* might not have seen the King till he was brought to St. *James's*, Jan. 19. 1648. and had leave to assist him *in extremis*, and that was after the Book was printed.

Hitherto we have brought this Testimony down to the King's murder, and there is not one single step that concerns the Book without a Contradiction; and now we come to the Restauration.

Dr. Walker.

10. Dr. *Gauden* could not positively and certainly say that King *Charles II.* knew that he wrote it, and the reason of that was because,

11. The King was never pleas'd to take express notice of it to him.

12. Dr. *Gauden* takes it for granted he doth, because he is sure the Duke of *Tork* doth, and he knowing it, he

Mrs. Gauden.

my Husband's; whereupon they destroy'd all that they then found printed, but could not find out whence the Letter came, having no name to it.

9. My Husband attempted the printing of it again, but could by no means get it finish'd till some few days after his Majesty was destroy'd.

Mrs. Gauden.

10. He went to his Majesty and told him the whole matter, and for the truth of it appeal'd to Bishop *Duppa*.

11. The King entertain'd some discourse with my Husband about it, and said he often wondred how his Father should have time and privacy enough, &c. and then promised him the Bishoprick of *Winchester*.

12. He told the King himself; and moreover told the King first, and the Duke afterwards, and at the same questions

Dr. Walker.

Mrs. Gauden.

questions not but the King
also doth.

13. He is sure the Duke
knew it, because he had spoken
of it to him, and own'd
it as a seasonable service.

time told his Highness that
the King promis'd him the
Bishoprick of *Winchester*.

13. He told the Duke
himself.

P. 114.

And now what a comfortable account have we got
here? here are no fewer than *thirteen* Contradictions,
and every one of them in *matter of fact*; and I do not
much question, but I might have observ'd more, if I could
have recover'd Mrs. Gauden's Narrative intire and com-
pleat. Our Author tells us he would *insert the Narrative*
at large as exactly copied; but then neither tells us where
he had it, that it might be inspect'd, nor doth he give it
perfect, but wanting all the latter part; and whether that
which remains was not to be found, or not fit to be seen,
I shall not undertake to determine: But he that considers
how our Author hath suppress'd an intire paragraph out
of the Abstract of it, which made against him, may con-
ceive it not impossible but part of the Narrative it self
may be suppress'd for the same reason; and I shall freely
speak my thoughts, I doubt there were some dangerous
passages behind, not fit to be trusted abroad, least they
should have made too open a discovery; and I am sure
there is no more injustice in concealing the Narrative, than
using the same practice upon the Abstract. However, here
is enough in all conscience to make men out of Love with
Accounts and *Narratives*; and when two persons preten-
ding to tell the same story, are at mortal odds, and per-
petually contradict one another as fast as they can, that in-
stead of giving the same account, a man would think they
were at *cross purposes*: He talks of one thing, and she of ano-
ther; Dr. Walker's Dr. Gauden is quite another thing from
Mrs. Gauden's Husband, he knew nothing of King *Charles*
the

the First's knowing it, nor of the issue of sending it, nor that King *Charles* the Second knew it; but Mrs. *Gauden's* Husband knew all this perfectly, and a great deal more: The Book that Dr. *Walker's* Dr. *Gauden* wrote, had neither the same Title, nor met with the same accidents, nor came out at the same time with that of Mrs. *Gauden's* Husband, and yet Dr. *Walker* is as sure of *his man*, as he can be of any thing; and Mrs. *Gauden* is as sure as he, and hath moreover Letters to make it out. And is not this rare Evidence to convince the World, and to turn them from a settled and well grounded opinion? Our Author indeed pretends to reconcile the contradictions, but does not deny the consequence, that if they do contradict each other, their Evidence is of no value; and whether their Testimony be contradictory, and that irreconcilably too, I have set the matter plainly in the Reader's view, and shall leave him at full liberty to judge of it.

The next thing I am to take notice of, is such a gross omission, that I cannot tell what to call it, I never met with the like in any Author, and I believe no man else; I take it to be an original, and I think there is no other instance in the world of a man pretending to defend a Cause, and to answer the Objections made against it, and at the same time leave the main hinge of the Controversie perfectly untouch'd. And thus stands the Case between our Author and me; the Point I had insisted on was, *That whatever is said on that side to intitle Dr. Gauden to this Book, is finally resolv'd into the single Testimony of Dr. Gauden himself*; if you persue every thing that is said to the last resort, here it centers, and 'tis all but Dr. *Gauden's* own Testimony; let it be granted that King *Charles*, King *James*, Dr. *Walker* and Mrs. *Gauden* said what our Author would have them, still you come to this, and you have no more than that Dr. *Gauden* told them so: Now if that Testimony be lyable to very great prejudices, if it be utterly insufficient to determine the Case in behalf of Dr. *Gauden*, then apparently, whatever becomes of the rest, the main Cause is perfectly lost, as failing in the

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founda-

foundation, and upon which the whole is built. And that is a pure Answer indeed, and signifies much, when supposing every thing he says was granted him, (not one of which he yet hath, and I suppose will never be able to make good,) the Controversie stands where it did. Dr. *Gauden* is not the Author, as having no other Witness but himself to attest it, and that single Witness upon many accounts is very suspicious. I shall not trouble my self to reflect on this, but shall leave it to his own Party to doe me justice; and they may see what a fine Advocate they have got, who hath written a whole Book, and left the Controversie behind him: For, admitting that Dr. *Walker* and Mrs. *Gauden* were good Witnesses, and that there was no manner of contradiction in their Evidence, which is all that he desires, and much more than he can prove, why then I answer, this is nothing else but Dr. *Gauden*'s single Testimony passing through them, which in such a case and in such circumstances, is not to be rely'd on, and is utterly insufficient to defeat the King's Title, and to make good his own. And thus all his Book is answered, though he had made good every particular he hath undertaken; and I shall leave it with any man, how fairly he hath answer'd Exceptions, and defended his own Cause, when he hath industriously avoided such a head of objections as invalidates all he hath said, and this he calls answering; so that, it seems, with him to run away from the Question, is the best Answer to it. I am asham'd (though our Author is not to give such occasion) that I have been forc'd so often to repeat what he hath as often omitted; but I must yet beg the Reader's patience, that I may supply this shamefull defect also, and give him a short view of this particular, and then leave him to judge what a fair Answerer I am concern'd with. And thus it is:

Upon supposition that all that had been attested in behalf of Dr. *Gauden* was truly attested, it is all finally resolv'd into his own Testimony, and which is of no consideration, nor ought to have any weight in the Case before us, for these Reasons:

I. " Be-

1. "Because 'tis in his own Cause, and he is his own *Vind.* p. 24.
 "Witness; and that cannot be admitted in these two *to* 23.
 "Cases.

1. "When there is another claim, and pretender in possession, as is the case of this Book.

2. "If it be matter of interest or advantage, a man
 "will never be admitted to witness for himself, and his
 "own profit; and if those papers be true, Mrs. Gauden
 "revealed a great secret, when she said, *that her Husband*
 "*hoped to make a Fortune by it.* To this our Author an-
 "swers *that ought not to be accounted strange; and he* *P. 101.*
should rather doubt Dr. Gauden was not the Author of
this Forgery, if he had not expected a Reward for it. Per-
 haps the Reader may think that this contradicts what I
 had before asserted, that he hath not taken the least no-
 tice of this Head; but that assertion is most true, for he
 hath not mentioned it as if it had any relation to Dr.
Gauden's Testimony, but hath ridiculously made it of a-
 nother consideration, and which therefore is nothing at all
 to the purpose; for what, I pray, is the Question? whe-
 ther if Dr. *Gauden* made the Book, he hop'd to make a
 Fortune by it, and expected a Reward for it? No such
 matter, and none but one of our Author's size, could ever
 think it was; but the Question is whether when Dr. *Gau-*
den's being the Author is a Question, his own Testimo-
 ny be sufficient to carry it, especially when the end of
 such Testimony is to make a Fortune, and get a Reward?
 This is the Case which our Author flies from, as if it
 were infectious; and what I wonder does his impertinent
 harrangue belong to, *of people's serving the King, no more*
than God, for nought, and Divines making the same steps
for preferment with other men? why this shews that our Au-
 thor is very free and copious when 'tis to no purpose, but
 very sparing and reserv'd when there is just occasion:
 in the mean time the matter before us, is only what con-
 cerns a man's witnessing for himself and testifying for his
 own advantage, which is against the sense of mankind, and
 the practice of all nations, and founded upon a most cer-
 tain

tain principle of a man's being too favourable and partial to himself. Now here we have a Question, Who was the Author of this Book? and to countenance one man's Title there are papers produc'd, representing him under a very disadvantageous character, as magnifying his own merits beyond all the bounds of modesty and decency, as immoderately pursuing preferment, and turning every stone to come at it; importuning the King, his Royal Brother, the Ministers of State, and trying all ways and means to encompass it; this is the representation the very papers give which are urged for his Title, and is this no prejudice to such a man's Testimony, in such a case, and for such ends? and our Author mends the matter much, when he tells us, *He should rather doubt Dr. Gauden was not the Author of this Forgery, if he had not expected a Reward for it*; so that he plainly supposes him guilty of Forgery in expectation of a Reward: an excellent Testimony indeed, which is founded upon the corruption of the Witness. But if he could forge any thing for a Reward, 'tis an easie Question whether that Forgery was making himself the Author, or making the Book? the first he might easily doe if he was disposed to it, but the latter I believe impossible, though he had never so much mind to it.

F. 103.

2. "Another thing which would take off the force of Dr. Gauden's Testimony in this case, supposing he ever attested it, is the immorality and infamy of the whole practice. This our Author saith, *if it could by any means hold water, is an Argument worth a million*. Well, whether it will hold water or no, we shall see presently; but the Reader is first to be reminded, that though our Author speaks of the immorality, yet it is only according to his own fancy, and not in the least referring to Dr. Gauden's Testimony, and the purposes upon which I urg'd it; but I propos'd it in one sense, and he speaks to it in another; and accordingly he frames this consequence, not from any thing I had said, but from his own imagination, *Then* (saith he) *it would clearly follow, that because it was a most immoral thing to lye for God, and to forge Books, Epistles,*

pistles, or the like, under the names of Christ and his Apostles, there were therefore never any such pieces. And what is this consequence to the dispute between us? I perceive we have all the while been mistaking the Question, which it seems is not, Who is the true Author? but Whether there be any such Book or no? But this, I suppose, was for our Author's diversion, who loves wandering mightily; and it is a pleasant consequence, and fit for none but our Author, to argue from the immorality to the denial of the thing; whereas I had urged it to take off the force of Dr. Gauden's Testimony, and which it certainly does; and those who argue for his Title, in order to it, represent him guilty of a gross Forgery, and they have no other way to it, but to lay such an original stain upon his reputation, as makes his Testimony of no value in the world. For what I wonder, is such a Witness worth, who before he can say any thing to the matter, and in the first step of his Evidence, proclaims himself guilty of Forgery, in the very case to which his Evidence refers? This is a knot may be cut, but can never be untied; and neither Dr. Gauden himself, nor any body for him, can say one word to this, but what is tainted in the foundation, and undermines it self; they cannot justify his Title, but by destroying his Credit, and the same breath that pleads his Cause, blasts his Testimony and ruins it; and it is a pure Cause indeed, and admirably supported, when there is nothing else to maintain it, but supposing a Forgery in the principal and only Witness in the very Case. The Cause on that side stands upon a Forgery, the advocates own it, and can say nothing without it, and the Consequences I draw from it are as clear as the Sun, and can never be denied: "He that can
 "forge for the King, may forge for himself too; he that
 "can father his own Book upon the King, and deceive for
 "his honour, may with the same justice lay claim to a
 "Book that is none of his, and deceive for his own profit;
 "and it is an admirable Testimony, when he first declares
 "that he abused the world in giving them a Book
 "for the King's which was not his, and then abused the
 "King

“ King in taking great pains to assume it to himself; he
 “ by publishing it, gave as publick Evidence as was possible, that the King was the Author, and if he told King
 “ *Charles* the Second, *Dr. Walker*, *Mrs. Gauden*, or any
 “ other, that he himself was the Author, then he told
 “ them one thing, and the whole Kingdom another; which
 “ at last makes a fine Evidence of it, which in the very
 “ case contradicts it self. But this and a great deal more; and all that belongs to this head, our Author is absolutely resolv’d shall not belong to the Controversie, and more fit to be expung’d than answer’d: Well, if our Author’s talent does not lye that way, let him take his liberty, and answer what he can, and let the rest alone; and if his Party will be well contented with it, I shall say no more against it.

But that our Author may not have said nothing at all, I shall out of civility to him, consider the *immorality* of the practice in his sense, and according as he refers it. *The Immorality* (says he) *of this Forgery is urged as an Argument against it*, and to oblige him, I will now so urge it; and my reason is, for that immoral and foul practices will be abetted by none but immoral and ill men; a man of probity and vertue will neither engage in, nor countenance such actions. Now *Dr. Walker* tells us that Bishop *Duppa* not only approv’d it, and became a party to it, by encouraging of it, but was a partner in the work, and composed two Chapters; and *Mrs. Gauden* affirms that Bishop *Duppa*, Archbishop *Sheldon*, and Bishop *Morley* were privy to it, and became parties to it, by consenting to it, and approving it, (whether before or after the fact makes no difference in the guilt,) and they both make *Mr. Symmons* a party, as knowing the Forgery, and being instrumental in the publication. Now the Immorality of the Forgery I take to be a considerable argument against it, meaning that the very nature of those ill practices is a sufficient reason to convince any man, that those great, vertuous and good men were never engaged in them; the very character of the persons confutes the charge, and while they have endeavour’d

deavour'd to bring great and venerable names to countenance a bad Cause, they have ruin'd their pretences instead of supporting them; neither Bishop *Duppa*, Bishop *Sheldon*, Bishop *Morley*, nor Mr. *Symmons*, and much less all of them together, could be guilty, and parties to such a scandalous contrivance, as to cheat the world, and betray a righteous Cause by frauds and counterfeits; and by joyn-ing these men in the imposture, the whole is laid open, and there never was any such thing, because the practice is too infamous for such men to be concern'd with; and consequently the Forgery is all the other way, and affects only Dr. *Walker's* Account, and Mrs. *Gauden's* Narrative.

There are yet behind Two other very material things that relate to Dr. *Gauden*, one our Author mentions, and the other he hath forgot.

The First is the Letter of Mr. *Le Pla*, Minister of *Finchingfield*, giving account that *William Allen*, formerly a Servant to Dr. *Gauden*, affirm'd to him, " That Dr. *Gauden* told him he had borrowed the Book, and was obliged to return it by such a time, that (besides what other time he might imploy in it) he sat up one whole night to transcribe it, that he sat up in the Chamber with him, to wait upon him, to make his Fires, and snuff his Candles; that Mr. *Le Pla* thinks, (but is not positive) it was from Mr. *Symmons* of *Rayne* that Dr. *Gauden* borrowed the Book. To this our Author gives two Answers, First, That Mr. *Symmons* did not at that time live at *Rayne*, but was sequester'd long before. And what then? and therefore Dr. *Gauden* could not borrow the Book from Mr. *Symmons*. This is an excellent consequence, especially when Dr. *Walker* and Mrs. *Gauden* intimate that there was great friendship and familiarity between them, and they both make Mr. *Symmons* such a confident of Dr. *Gauden's* as to be solely intrusted by him for the printing it; and as I take it, the Question is not where Mr. *Symmons* lived? or whether he was sequester'd or no? but whether Dr. *Gauden* borrowed the King's Manuscript of him? The Second Answer is, Nor is it credible that

Dr. *Gau.*

Dr. Gauden, whether he meant a fraud or not, should give an account of his studies, much less discover the Secret of this Book, for no reason in the world, to never so trusty a Servant, especially to one that was to look after his Fire and snuff his Candles. Now this is a pleasant Answer upon many accounts; for,

1. As to the character of the Servant, let him be in what capacity our Author please in the Doctor's family, it is plain enough he was intrusted by him in his most secret and important affairs, as *having been sent upon many messages in the night, between the Doctor and his family, in those times of difficulty, and had moreover incurr'd several dangers on his account, and ventur'd his life more than once to defend him; which plainly shew'd (as the Letter sets forth) the great confidence the Doctor had in him, and the reason he had for it;* and the taking him to sit up with him on that secret occasion, let the secret be what it would, is a sufficient proof of it, if there were no other. And therefore,

2. This Answer destroys it self. *It is not credible, (saith he) that Dr. Gauden should discover the Secret of this Book to never so trusty a Servant;* and yet it seems, as incredible as it was, it was actually done; for the very sitting up with him, and seeing him transcribe it, discover'd the Secret, whatever that Secret was, let it be the King's, or Dr. Gauden's, or whose you will, the Book was discover'd, and 'twas impossible it should be otherwise; and 'tis a pleasant Answer to say it was not credible he should discover it, when at the same time his Servant saw the Book, and saw him transcribing it; but it seems, with our Author, matters of fact are the most incredible things in the world.

3. *William Allen expressly affirms, that Dr. Gauden told him that he had borrowed the Book, and was obliged to return it by such a time;* and now comes our Author, and for Answer tells us, *it is not credible that he should give an account of his studies, and discover the Secret.* Why, if the Doctor had given no account to him, and discover'd nothing,

nothing, he must have guess'd as well as he could; but when he had plainly told him he had borrowed it, and was to return it, it is pleasant to talk of giving no account, and the incredibleness of discovering what he did in plain terms discover to him. But there is nothing so weak and trifling, but will serve our Author for an Answer, although one would think that a Testimony of this nature, which strikes at the root of the Cause, and at once destroys all their pretences, might have deserv'd a better Answer, if he could have told how to have given it. Here Dr. Gauden himself tells his Servant how he came by the Book, and that is, *he borrowed it*; and if he borrowed it, then it was none of his own; and here it rests till our Author can find an Answer for it. And to this I add,

Secondly, Dr. Gauden's own farther Testimony in the case. This our Author hath forgot, as not worth his while, and he has the best faculty in the world of slipping out of the way what he cannot answer, and what bears hardest upon his Cause; and I must yet trespass upon the Reader, and shew him what our Author is resolv'd, if he can help it, he shall never take notice of, and it is the Testimony of Mr. Long, then and now Prebendary of the Church of Exeter, in these words, *I have heard him* (Bishop Gauden *Vind.* p. 42. when Bishop of Exeter,) *often affirm, that he was fully convinc'd that the εἰκὼν βασιλικὴ was intirely that King's work*; and to strengthen this Testimony Mr. Long tells very considerable circumstances, and which induc'd the occasion of the Bishop's and his discourfing concerning the Book, and the Author of it, (*viz.*) *that on the 30 of January in Dr. Wal-* the Bishop's first year, the Bishop preached in the Cathedral *ker's Ac-* in the forenoon, on Jonah 1. 14. and Mr. Long, by the Bi- *count Ex-* shop's order in the afternoon, on Isa. 49. 23. and aggrava- *min'd,* p. 6. *ting the King's murder, among other arguments he urg'd his piety and clemency, reading several paragraphs out of his Book to that purpose, and that after the duties of the Fast were over, the Bishop invited him to supper, and standing by the fire side, he gave him thanks for his Sermon, and then declar'd to him what he hath attested above.* This Te-

testimony is full, both as to substance and circumstance, and the character of the person attesting sufficiently secures it from all objection, and therefore I shall not need to say any thing to it; only desire our Author to remember, that when Dr. *Gauden* was fully convinc'd that it was entirely the King's work, he could not himself pretend to have any hand in the composing it.

I now proceed to the last Head, the Testimonies that prove King *Charles* the First to be the Author, and to consider the Exceptions our Author makes against them; and the Reader will find him the same man still, his Answers and Exceptions are exactly parallel, and he disproves the Witnesses that I produce, at the same rate that he justifies his own.

The First is that of Major *Huntington*, given by Sir *William Dugdale*, (in his *Short View of the Troubles in England*,) "For the Manuscript it self, written with his own hand, being taken at *Naveshy* fight, was restor'd to him after he was brought to *Hampton Court*, by the hand of Major *Huntington*, through the favour of General *Fairfax*, of whom he obtain'd it. This is a Testimony full and direct to the matter, and clear and particular in the manner; a person attesting he brought the Book, the means whereby he obtain'd it, the person to whom he deliver'd it, and the place where; and it is impossible to take off the force of this, but by impeaching the credit of the Witness, or of the Relator, or by shewing some inconsistency or contradiction in the matter attested, either with it self, or with other Witnesses in the same Cause: This is the only way, and there is no other, to take off the validity of any Evidence, where the matter is credible in it self; and this is the method I have taken with his Witnesses, but this is not the least in his thoughts, he is not for taking a fit and just course, but satisfies himself with talking a little idly about it, and then leaves it. Thus for instance in the first place he tells us, *By the way, they should have said, for the grace of the story,* Part
of

of the Manuscript; for a good deal of the Book was written afterwards, be the Author who you please. And by the way too, this is a very foolish objection: for why, I wonder, may not Part of the Manuscript be called *The Manuscript*. especially when it refers to a time when there was no more written? and I hope it was the same Manuscript afterwards, although there might be both alterations and additions in it. But our Author, in the want of reasons, is for turning Critick, and instead of the Truth is for excepting to the Grace of an Evidence. *The Manuscript!* 'tis a monstrous impropriety, whereas it ought to have been Part of the Manuscript; and what is Major *Huntington's* Evidence worth when Sir *William* tells the story with so ill a grace? Next our Author tells a fine story, *They should have told us how General Fairfax durst send one part of his Papers to the King, when he sent the rest to the Parliament; and since they would make us believe he was so kind to the King, why did not he restore all the Papers, when those the Parliament order'd to be published were infinitely of greater consequence, and made him a world of enemies, whereas these would probably mollifie some of his opposers? and though General Fairfax was afterwards against putting the King to death, yet he was not at that time disposed to grant him any favours, and acted with as hearty zeal against him as any in the Nation; which appears by all the Histories of those times, as well as by his own, and the Memoirs of the Lord Hollis.* To this I answer,

1. As to History, our Author is perfectly out, and knows nothing at all of the matter, or else prevaricates: For after the King was taken from *Holdenby* and removed to the Army, (which was a good while before this Book was deliver'd to him at *Hampton Court*,) not only General *Fairfax*, but *Cromwell* too, were disposed to grant him many favours, (if they must be so called,) and actually did so, as permitting the attendance of his Chaplains and other Servants, and granting him many other liberties and conveniencies which the Parliament denied him: and though *Cromwell* did this deceitfully, yet General *Fairfax* was

heartly and sincere, and any man who knows the state of affairs at that time, the correspondence between the King and him, together with the King's Letters to him, will be so far from thinking that there should be any repugnancy for him to favour the King with the return of this Book, that he would have done for him many more, and more considerable services, if he had been able. And yet our Author hath the confidence to appeal to all the Histories of those times; and which is yet more bold, he appeals to my Lord Fairfax's own *Memoirs*, which express the contrary almost in every line: That after 1646. he grew weary of the Army, and *desired rather to be a Sufferer than a Commander*, and would have laid down his Commission; and says expressly, *if you find me carried on with this stream, it was by the violence of it, rather than my own consent*; that he used all endeavours to prevent the purging the House, and did *secure it a year from violence*; that in particular of the King's remove from *Holmby*, he says, *the sad consequences whereof fill my heart with grief in the remembrance of them, as they did then with care how to prevent them*; that he sent two Regiments of Horse to remove that force from the King, and to acquaint him *how much the General was troubled at those great insolencies that had been committed so near his person*; and would have had a Council of War to proceed against Joyce for that high offence, but his endeavours were ineffectual. So that we see plainly enough, that before the King was Prisoner at *Holmby*, General Fairfax was not so zealous against him as our Author would make us believe; but from that time, and before, his zeal is express'd against the hypocrisy and baseness of the Army; and plainly says, that from the time of the rendezvouz at *Triplow Heath*, *he never gave free consent to any thing they did*; and though they set his name to *Papers and Declarations*, yet this was a *force and ravishment of a good name, rather than a voluntary consent*; and abundance more to this purpose. And by this time I suppose the Reader will be astonish'd at our Author's confidence, to appeal to these *Me-*
moirs

Lord Fair-
fax's Mem.
p. 105.
p. 109.
p. 111.
p. 112, 113,
p. 115.

p. 125.

moirs to confirm his assertion, when they express the clean contrary in every page. And let any man judge what a fine Adversary I have to deal with, who will not represent truly, neither my Exceptions nor his own Cause, nor Quotations out of Authors, nor any thing, but corrupts every thing that comes under his hands; he first makes my Lord *Fairfax* wonderfully zealous against the King's person, and incapable of doing him any favour, and then to make that good, makes *Memoirs* for him too, and directly contrary to those he made himself. And,

2. As to the rest, *How durst he send one part to the King, when he sent the rest to the Parliament? and why did not he restore all the Papers, if he was so kind?* This is all wildness, and as it deserves none, so any Answer will serve: Perhaps he kept it out of curiosity, perhaps out of design, and perhaps too by mere accident; however, I shall not trouble my self to give reasons for that which needs none: what my Lord *Fairfax* durst do, or durst not do; why he sent the Letters and kept the Book, is nothing at all to the case, which depends not upon answering abstruse Questions, or giving reasons for dark and mysterious passages; but 'tis matter of fact, and depends purely upon Testimony; and when Major *Huntington* testifies that *he applied to General Fairfax, and by his means obtain'd it*, 'tis a pleasant business indeed to ask how the General durst do it; for if he did it, he certainly durst do it; and that he did it, there is plain and sufficient Evidence, and there is the end of the Question, and it can go no farther. And all that is in this Case is resolv'd into these Two Questions, and there neither is nor can be any other, Whether Major *Huntington* was a true man, and testified the Truth? and Whether that Testimony was truly reported? But our Author is not for coming home to the case, but diverting it, by asking a company of idle Questions, how he durst do it? and Why did not he restore the other Papers? and it is a pleasant reason indeed, he did not restore the Book, because he did not restore something else: I wonder he did not make it a reason, that
he

he did not restore the Jewels taken in the Cabbinet, or that he did not restore the Baggage and Ammunition taken at *Naseby*. However, at length he tells us, *that Dr. Walker assures, that Major Huntington told him, that all that he had said was, that he surely believed those were the papers he saw him so usually take out of his Cabbinet, but that he never read one line or word of them.* And this is a piece of our Author's usual confidence, to repeat over the same thing, and never take notice of the Answer to it: I had confronted this with three several Testimonies from Major *Huntington*, and all of them directly contradictory to this story of *Dr. Walker's*; and if he would have said any thing to this point, he ought to have supported *Dr. Walker's* credit, (which he hath all along neglected,) and to have shewn us that we ought to rely upon his account, rather than upon *Sir William Dugdale's* and the rest. But of all the Disputers I ever met with, I never saw the fellow of our Author, who at no hand and in no case, will be brought to speak to the true point. And here I must once again be forc'd to tire the Reader's patience, and give him the true state of the Case, which is apparently thus.

To shew that *Dr. Walker's* account was all mere story, his own invention, and not one word of truth in it, I had produc'd the very Testimony Major *Huntington* gave to *Sir William Dugdale*, (which I have now in my hands,) and 'tis part of a written relation which he gave to *Sir William*, of several considerable matters relating to King *Charles* the First, in which himself was personally concern'd; he declares his own knowledge, and facts in which himself was engaged, and all the parts of the relation corroborate each other, and to deny one branch is to deny the whole relation; and among other things, what concerns the Book is in these words:

And. p. 36. And as to the Eicon Basilike, he saith, that after the King was brought to Hampton Court, his Majesty there acquainting him with the loss of that Book at *Navesby* fight, and desiring him to use his interest to regain it, he did himself apply to General *Fairfax*, and by his means obtained it,

it, it being bound up in a white Vellum Cover, and (as he well remembers) all the Chapters were written by the hand of Sir Edward Walker, but much corrected with interlineations by the King's own hand, the Prayers being all written with the King's own hand, which he says he very well knew so to be. This is the very Testimony which Major *Huntington* gave to Sir *William Dugdale*, and which contradicts every word of Dr. *Walker's* relation, and the consequence is, that Dr. *Walker* had either a good invention or a bad memory. And what doth our Author say to this? Not one single word, nor take the least notice of it; and at the same time hath the confidence to shuffle Dr. *Walker's* Tale among Major *Huntington's* Testimonies, and insists upon it without offering the least syllable to clear it of the difficulties, or giving one reason why it ought to be credited; and not only so, but draws his inference from it, as if that was most true, and all the other most false: For thus he summs up the Evidence, *One saw the King write he knew P. 145. not what, but believ'd it might be this Book*, meaning Dr. *Walker's* idle story. This is such a scandalous proceeding, so unbecoming the ingenuity of humane nature, that 'tis a shame to meet with it in the streets, and equally reflects upon the civility of a man's breeding, as the weakness of his Cause; and such confident assertions and repetitions are an offence against good manners, as well as against good reason.

In the mean time, since I have been forced to repeat this Testimony, I will beg the Reader's leave to make this one Remark upon it; that it is as full and compleat an Evidence as could possibly be given in such a Case, and carries its own light and strength with it; and let any man but observe the steps and particulars, and he will soon be satisfied: As in the first place, *The King acquainting him with the loss of the Book, and desiring him to use his interest to regain it; and upon that information and request of the King, he apply'd to General Fairfax, and by his means obtain'd it:* And then there is the character of the Book it self, *that it was bound up in a white Vellum Co-*

ver, that *all the Chapters were written by the hand of Sir Edward Walker, but much corrected with interlineations with the King's own hand; that the Prayers were all written with the King's own hand, and which he very well knew so to be.* Now here is a Testimony so full and clear in it self, so particular and expresse in all circumstances, so coherent one part with another, and so satisfactory in all points, that 'tis next to impossible that any matter of fact should be better attested : Here is the reason and ground of his proceeding, the means and methods whereby he obtain'd it, the description of the Book as to its outward form and binding, a particular specification of the different hands in which it was written, part by *Sir Edward Walker*, and the interlineations and Prayers with the King's own hand, and clos'd up with an affirmance of his own knowledge of the King's hand, and which he very well knew so to be. And I shall lay that weight upon it which it justly deserves, and challenge our Author to say one reasonable word against it, or to offer the least syllable to invalidate the force of it; and if he had said ten times more than he hath, or I presume will ever be able to say, in defence of his Cause, the weight of this single Testimony would bear it all down before it, and carry the Cause against him.

The next thing is, Two other Testimonies taken from Major *Huntington*, one by Mr. *Duke*, the other by Mr. *Becke*. The substance of Mr. *Duke's* is, that " Major *Huntington* told him more than once, that whilst he guarded King *Charles* the First at *Holmby house*, (as Mr. *Duke* remembers,) he saw several Chapters or Leaves of that great King's Meditations lying on the Table several mornings, with a pen and ink, with which the King scratch'd out, or blotted, some lines or words of some of them,-----and that the Major told him he did suppose them originally from that learned Prince: Mr. *Becke's* is the same with that of Sir *William Dugdale*, only with this addition, " that when he deliver'd them to the King, his Majesty appear'd very joyfull, and said he esteem'd
 " them

“ them more than all the Jewels he had lost in his Cabinet. Now upon the whole our Author thus answers, *This* 2. 137. *Major Huntington was a strange man to vary so often in his story, and to tell so much more or less to every body that enquired of him; and that 'tis no wonder that these Gentlemen should so widely differ from one another, both as to time, and place, and matter of fact.* But where is this difference that he talks on, in all these respects? he ought to have been so civil to his Reader, to have shewed him the particulars; but he boldly fastens a charge, and then leaves the Reader to make it good himself, and to look for that which can never be found. For first, as to *time* there is not the least tittle of difference, nor the least pretence, or colour for it; but that was put in to compleat the number, but for the truth of it our Author is not concern'd about it; 'tis enough for him to assert it, whether he could prove it or no. And secondly, as to *place* there is no difference neither, for though Mr. *Duke* speaks of *Holmby*, yet he does it with this qualification, *as he remembers*, but is not positive but it might be some other place; and if our Author could not see this, I had told him so before in plain terms, though he will not take notice of it. *Vind. p. 35.* And thirdly, as to *matter of fact* there is no difference, if by difference our Author means *disagreement*; for all these Testimonies agree well enough, and there is not the least clashing or interfering betwixt them; but if he means, as he says before, that they differ as to *more or less*, 'tis true enough, but then 'tis no objection; for there might be different occasions and reasons to speak of this matter, in discourses with different men, and Major *Huntington* might suit his information to the nature and matter of the respective discourses: however there is no manner of difference or addition to the matter, only to some circumstances relating to it. Major *Huntington* tells Sir *William Dugdale* he recover'd the Book, and delivered it to the King; and moreover tells Mr. *Duke*, that he saw the King blotting out some lines or words; and to Mr. *Beck*, that the King rejoyced exceedingly, when he received them.

This is a pure Objection indeed against an Evidence; I wonder he did not make it one, that Major *Huntington* did not tell Mr. *Beck* that *it was bound in a Vellam Cover*.

Vind. p. 34. In the mean time this hath been answered already, "That the Evidence is very consistent, and by no means contradictory; Major *Huntington* might see the papers lye on the table, &c. and yet before that, deliver the Book to the King; this is not contradictory, but a supplement, and a farther account of the Major's knowledge of the matter. But our Author hath the best faculty in the world, at boldly repeating Objections, and never considering the Answers to them; and I am to remark to the Reader that this is an Objection I had made to his hands, and it was not very fair, to take the Objection out of my Book, and at the same time leave behind him the Answer I had given to it.

In the next place he falls foul upon Sir *William Dugdale*, that *he has printed under Major Huntington's name, quite another story from the written memorial out of which he had it*: and to make this good, he says, *he positively says that the Manuscript was written with the King's own hand; but in his warrant for this, it is only said, that all the Chapters were written by the hand of Sir Edward Walker, but much corrected with interlineations of the King's hand, and that the Prayers were all so.* This (saith our Author) is quite another story; and one would think, to support this bold assertion, he should have produc'd something very considerable; for, as I take it, to make quite another story, is to make it differ *toto cælo*, in all or most of the substantiall parts or branches of it, or at least in some of them. But in our Author's quite another story, there is not the least difference in any thing that relates to the substance of the story; but 'tis forsooth the mighty difference of saying *the Manuscript written with the King's own hand*, when only part of it (and perhaps the greater part) was so written; as if Sir *William* had said *all* the Manuscript, or as if so much as the King had wrote with his own hand, was not sufficient to sustain that denomination. But this is
just

just such another foolery, as *The Manuscript* for Part of the Manuscript; and to reply to it, is as ridiculous as to make it. In the mean time, there is nothing more contemptible than to make a great noise and puther about nothing, and plainly shews what shifts he is put to, when he lays the greatest weight on straws and trifles: His business here is to invalidate the force of Major *Huntington's* Testimony, or to impeach the credit of Sir *William's* report; and in order to that, he lays a monstrous and heavy charge on an impropriety of expression, and yet there is not so much as that. And we have more of the same in what follows.

Now (says he) *to shew farther how cautiously people should rely on Sir William Dugdale, and Historians like him, we shall produce another remarkable instance: I suppose as remarkable as the former, which is remarkable indeed for our Author's folly, but for nothing else. In the Book before quoted he expressly writes, that Mr. Herbert did often see the Book, while he waited on the King in the Isle of Wight; whereas all that Sir Thomas hath said (with reference to that Book) is, "That at this time it was, as "is presum'd, that he compos'd his Book call'd *Suspiria Regalia*, publish'd soon after his death, and intituled *The King's Pourtraiture*, &c. which Manuscript Mr. Herbert found among those Books his Majesty was pleas'd to give him, in regard Mr. Herbert, though he did not see the King write that Book, his Majesty being allways private when he writ, and those his Servants never coming into the Bed-chamber, when the King was private, till he call'd, yet comparing it with his hand writing in other things, be found it so very like as induces his belief it was his own, having seen much of the King's writings before. To this our Author puts off his Answer, and at present says, Here Sir Thomas only presumes the King might write the Book in the Isle of wight; and directly says he never saw the King write it, nor the Book it self, till after his death; but Sir William affirms from these very papers, that he often saw it in the Isle of Wight, when*

be waited on the King in his Bed-chamber. Now here our Author finds fault with an Historian, and with such a one too, who for his faithfulness, skill, and industry, hath been, and allways will be, deservedly admired; few ages or nations have produced a man comparable to him, in all the good qualities of an Historian; and the Kingdom reaps the benefit of his compleat judgment and indefatigable pains, in mighty and prodigious instances; and no man who hath heard of the name of *Sir William Dugdale*, need to be told how to rely on him; and it will equally move a man's indignation and contempt to see a little snarling Author treating him with reproach, and telling his Readers *how cautiously they should rely upon him, and Historians like him.* In the mean time, as to his Exceptions, I answer:

1. He pretends to censure *Sir William* for misrepresenting *Sir Thomas Herbert*, and at the same time does it notoriously himself; he says here, that *Sir Thomas directly says he never saw the Book till after the King's death*, whereas he says no such thing, neither directly nor by consequence; he says indeed he found the Manuscript among the Books which the King gave him; but that is so far from saying *directly* that he never saw it before, that it does not in the least imply any such thing; and he is fit indeed to tell us how cautiously we should rely upon Historians, who so grossly falsifies a quotation he had made but just before, and falsifies it too in that very thing in which the Answer consists. *Sir William* says, *it was frequently seen by Sir Thomas in the Isle of Wight*; and our Author, because he cannot find an Answer for this, makes one of his own head, and makes *Sir Thomas Herbert* say, and say directly too, that *he never saw it.* This is a direct Answer indeed, but 'tis a direct forgery too; and if Testimonies are a little of the straightest, 'tis but supplying them with a few words, and then our Author can deal well enough with them.

2. *Sir Thomas* says nothing of *seeing the Book*, and *Sir William* affirms from those very papers, that he often saw

it in the Isle of Wight. But how does our Author know that? These papers indeed were written at the request of *Sir William Dugdale*, but were there no other? Yes apparently, and our Author might have inform'd himself from the recital I had made out of this Book of *Sir Thomas Herbert's*, which begins thus, "By yours of the 22. of *Vind. p. 361*
August last, I find you have received my former Letters
 "of the 1st. and 13th of *May*, 1678. and seeing it is your
 "farther desire, I should recollect what I can well remem-
 "ber upon that sad subject more at large: So that *Sir William* had before receiv'd Two Letters on the same subject, and the intent of this, was to be a supplement to them, and to give a larger and more full recital of what might be omitted before; and in all probability, what *Sir William* said of *Sir Thomas's seeing the Book in the Isle of Wight*, was out of those former Letters, and the thing before us plainly declares it; for *Sir William's* purpose there, was to vindicate the King's Title to that Book; and he would never have neglected such a pertinent proof, as *Sir Thomas* having the Manuscript it self, written with the King's own hand, and which he found to be so, by comparing it with other of the King's writings. This is more full and home than only seeing it, and *Sir William* could not have omitted it, if he had those papers before him when he wrote those passages; and 'tis probable that this supplemental and larger relation, which must take up so much time in the drawing up, containing 83 pages in *folio*, might come too late, for *Sir William's Short View of the Troubles* must have been in the Press then, or before he sent that Letter, for it contains near 250 Sheets, and was published the beginning of 1681, perhaps the latter end of 1680. for 'tis usual with Booksellers to run the date three or four Months before the publication, and *Sir William's* Letter to *Sir Thomas* requesting that Relation, bears date *August* the 22. 1679.

However, upon the whole, it is to be observ'd, that when *Sir William Dugdale* published the Testimonies of these Gentlemen, they were both alive, as *Sir William* says,

I shall make it evident from the Testimony of very credible persons yet living : Major *Huntington* and Sir *Thomas Herbert* were both living at that time and after, when Sir *William* published their names to the world, as Witnesses to the truth of what he asserted; this shews the fairness of the proceeding, and the assurance Sir *William* had in what he reported, when he appeal'd to such vouchers as were in being, and might every day be spoke with; and moreover confirms the truth of his relation beyond all possible exception and contradiction. Let any man think, if he can, that Sir *William* would have appeal'd to *living Witnesses* for the proof of a forgery, or that either of those Gentlemen would have suffered their names to stand upon record, and in the face of the world, before the present age and posterity, to father a fictitious Testimony which they never gave, and not have taken care by some publick act to have disown'd it. Sir *William* plainly, openly, and before the world asserts, that Major *Huntington* recover'd the Book by the favour of General *Fairfax*, and that Sir *Thomas Herbert* saw it often in the *Isle of Wight*; they were both living then and after, and seeing neither they themselves, nor any body else, question'd it in their life time, 'tis impossible it should be done when they are dead; and Sir *William's* report stands the most firm and unexceptionable, and 'tis the utmost obstinacy and refractariness to dispute a Testimony in such circumstances.

I now proceed to Mr. *Lever's* Testimony, “ That of his
 “ own certain knowledge he can depose the Book was truly the King's, having observ'd his Majesty oftentimes
 “ writing his Royal Repentments of the bold and insolent
 “ behaviour of the Souldiers, when they had him in their
 “ custody : That being nominated by his Majesty to be one
 “ of his Servants during the Treaty in the *Isle of Wight*,
 “ he had the happiness to read the same oftentimes in
 “ Manuscript under his Majesty's own hand, being pleas'd
 “ to leave it in the window of his Bed-chamber: And that
 “ when the King was remov'd to *Hurst Castle*, he had the
 “ charge of this Book, and a Cabinet of other papers,
 “ which

“ which at the said Castle he delivered again to his Majesty. This is our Author’s representation of this Testimony, and the Reader may be sure it is done as may best serve his turn, but not very fairly, as we shall see immediately: for thus he begins, *Where, by the way, he does* P. 142. *not inform us, if the Book was distinctly given him from the Cabinet, or that he only concluded it was in it.* Now although this is a ridiculous Objection, and it signifies nothing whether it was in or out of the Cabinet, so long as Mr. Levet affirms, that he had the charge of the Book, as well as the Cabinet; yet it may serve to shew us our Author’s unfairness, who hath pretermitted a material part of this Evidence, and which makes his Exception yet more ridiculous. Mr. Levet says, “ That during the King’s “ making himself ready, he concern’d himself only how “ to secure this Book of his, and a small Cabinet wherein “ he secur’d his Letters to his Queen. And then adds, “ The King gave him in charge This said Book and small “ Cabinet: which makes them distinct enough, if that signified any thing. But the force of this Testimony does not lye in the distinction of the Book from the Cabinet, which is an Objection fit for none but our Author; but the Emphasis lies upon *This Book*, i. e. That very Book which Mr. Levet had oftentimes seen the King write in, and which he himself had read in Manuscript; *This Book* the King was concern’d to secure, and *This Book* he had in charge; and ’tis very pleasant indeed to ask whether he concluded it was in the Cabinet or not; for let him conclude it, or not conclude it, the Testimony is directly against him, which he neither will nor can answer, but shamefully trifles with it; and yet hath the confidence to sum up this Evidence in this manner, *Another observ’d* P. 145. *him writing his resentments against the rude behaviour of the Souldiers, and so was ready to depose of his certain knowledge that Icon Basilike was his own; whereas Mr. Levet offer’d to depose directly to the Book, and speaks of the Book directly and plainly throughout his Testimony: The Book he could depose of his own knowledge was the* King’s

King's own, the same he read in Manuscript, the same the King was concern'd to secure, and the same the King gave him in charge when he was carried to *Hurst Castle*; and is all this no more than observing the King writing his resentments against the insolence of Souldiers? But when an Author lays aside all shame and modesty, he is qualified to say any thing in the world.

At length he comes to make his Exceptions against Sir *Thomas Herbert's* and Mr. *Levet's* Testimony, and his method is by confronting them against each other: *Here* (says he) *are several very observable circumstances, as first that although Mr. Herbert (who was of the King's Bed-chamber, never saw him write a syllable of this Book, his Majesty, he says, being allways in private when he wrote, and his Servants never coming into his Bed-chamber till he call'd; yet Mr. Levet, a Page of the Back-stairs, often saw him write, knew what he wrote, and could read the Book when he pleas'd. But this our Author doth not repeat fairly; he says his Majesty being allways in private when he wrote, and his Servants never coming in till call'd, as if it extended to all the King's Servants; whereas Sir Thomas speaks it with limitation those his Servants i. e. himself and Mr. Harington, (for he only speaks of them there, and only refers to them,) which plainly implies that some other of the King's Servants might be with him when he wrote in private, though they were not, otherwise there can be no sense made of that limitation Those his Servants; and this is a reason why Sir Thomas did not see the King write it, but is no reason but some other besides him might; and Sir Thomas's Testimony rather corroborates, than confronts that of Mr. Levet; he supposes the King wrote it in his Bed-chamber, though he did not see him, and Mr. Levet affirms he saw the King write it at the same time and place. And that Mr. Levet should see the King write it, and not Mr. Herbert, there is one apparent reason, and there may be many more: Mr. Levet was an old Servant, had allways stuck by the King, and waited on him, during all his sufferings, but the King never saw*
Mr. Herbert

Mr. *Herbert* 'till he attended the Parliament Commissioners to *Newcastle*, and never took him into his service, 'till all his own Servants were violently torn from him at *Holmby*; and it was rather necessity than choice, that caus'd him to pitch upon two of the followers of the Commissioners (Mr. *Herbert* and Mr. *Harrington*) to attend him in his Bed-chamber; and 'tis no wonder that the King should admit an old try'd Servant, and one that had constantly adher'd to him, to more privacy; and though the King was satisfis'd with Mr. *Herbert's* faithfulness, yet 'tis plain in the very instance before us, that he did not at that time use him in the same degree of trust with Mr. *Levet*: For this Book, and his Cabinet of Letters to the Queen, the things he was then most concern'd to secure, were committed to the charge of Mr. *Levet* and not Mr. *Herbert*.

His next Observation is, *That 'tis not very likely that the King, who is said to value this more than all his Jewels, should so carelessly leave it in his Bed-chamber, when he was abroad.* And why not, I pray, when it was under the care of Mr. *Levet*, who was no stranger to it, and who says expressly (which our Author hath left out) that *he was always obliged to attend there his Majesty's coming.* Well, but then Mr. *Herbert*, *say the very Souldiers, might see it as well as Mr. Levet.* Our Author it seems makes no difference between the King's Bed-chamber and a Guard-chamber, as if it was free for all comers and goers. But by his favour, no person, no not the Governour himself, could come into it, but by leave of the Page of the Back-stairs; and Mr. *Herbert* tells a memorable story, in this large relation. " That " he and Mr. *Harrington* were in the Green, waiting on the " King, who finding the weather somewhat cold, the King " bad Mr. *Herbert* go for his Cloak, and entring the Bed- " chamber, found the Governour (Collonel *Hammond*) ready to come forth, with one other Officer in company, and Mr. *Reading*, who then waited as Page of the " Back-stairs, and by insinuation had let him in; and he adds, " That he gave the Page of the Back-stairs a sharp " rebuke, and the Governour being made acquainted with

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it, (by Mr. *Reading*,) threatned to disfinis Mr. *Herbert*. So that there was no such free access, as our Author imagins, to the Bed-chamber, especially during the King's absence; and the Governour himself, and much less any body else, could not come in, but by the treachery of the Page of the Back-stairs. And this shews that the Bed-chamber was a place secure enough, and there was no such carelessness, in leaving it where no body could see it but Mr. *Levet* himself, and it plainly confirms Mr. *Levet's* Testimony.

And lastly, (says he,) that the King should have so much leisure to mind this Book, during a Treaty with his Subjects, or would lose any time in writing of it, when the business in agitation concerned no less than his re-establishment or abdication, is not credible. Well, as incredible as our Author thinks this is, he confutes it himself the very next page; for there he tells us, *Though the King in all reason might, and I really believe did, correct or interline a part, and perhaps transcribe the whole Book.* Now 'tis to be remembred, that our Author will have the Book sent to the King at this Treaty, and deliver'd to him when all that business was in agitation, that he speaks of, and it seems to serve his own turn; and if Dr. *Gauden* may be allowed to be the Author, then 'tis credible enough, that the King had leisure to correct and interline it, which supposes *minding* it, and minding it carefully too; and moreover, to transcribe the whole Book, (for that word *perhaps* implies at least the credibility of it;) but if he was the Author of it himself, it is by no means to be believed, that he should have so much leisure to mind it, or would lose any time in writing of it. And I perceive, with our Author, the King in all reason might spend his time about Dr. *Gauden's* Book, but at the same time it was so pretious, that he had none at all to spare about his own: He really believes the King did correct and interline this Book, and at the same time it surpasses his belief, that he should have so much leisure to mind it; he thinks it credible he might transcribe the whole Book, and at the same time thinks it incredible he would lose any time in writing of it. I find some mens.
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reason and belief are very flexible things, and they have them at good command, when they can believe the same thing credible and incredible, reasonable and unreasonable, as occasion serves. For let the Book be what or whose you please, *the leisure to mind it*, and *the losing time about it*, are certainly the same; in the mean time, what leisure the King had, and what time to spare about this Book, during the Treaty, certainly there was not much required to finish it as far as it goes; for the subject matter of it ends before the Treaty began, perhaps the correcting it in some places, the adding some passages, the compleating and finishing one Chapter, or two at the most.

However, upon the whole, suppose that a man could give no fair reason, why Mr. *Levet* should see the King write it, and not Mr. *Herbert*; or why the King should leave it in his Bed-chamber, when he went abroad, or what time he had to spare during the Treaty at *Newport*, this would not in the least abate the credit of either of their Testimonies, because it requires a more exact knowledge of time, and place, and other circumstances, than possibly can now be had: why the King should permit Mr. *Levet* to see him write, and not Mr. *Herbert*, and why he should leave it in his Bed-chamber window under the care of Mr. *Levet*, the reasons of these respective actions might be in the King's breast, or they might be visible enough at that time, though they could not now be so well accounted for; and what leisure he had at the Treaty to review it, or add to it, this is nothing to the purpose, nor in the least affects the Testimonies; and the Question only is, whether such things were really done, and not upon what reasons they were done. And when Mr. *Levet* directly affirms, and offers to depose, that the Book was the King's own, that he saw him writing in it, that he read the Manuscript, that the King was mightily concern'd to secure it, that he himself had it in charge, 'tis to much purpose to say that Mr. *Herbert* did not see him write it, that it was not likely he should leave it in his Bed-chamber; for *likely* or not likely, the thing was done, and is sufficiently prov'd; and

nothing can be said to that but by excepting to the credit of the Witness.

In the mean time, he hath put off the examining Sir *Thomas Herbert's* Testimony so long, till he hath utterly forgot it, and I must remind him of it; that he says "He found the Manuscript among the Books which the King gave him, that comparing it with his hand writing in other things, he found it so very like, as to believe it was his own, having seen much of the King's writings before, particularly a Translation of *Dr. Sander's* Book *De Juramentis*, examin'd by himself and *Mr. Harrington*, and found accurately translated. However, though our Author says nothing to it, he with his usual confidence sums it up thus: *A third presumes the King might write it, because he read a great many Books*; and then thus concludes his summary, *and they unanimously conclude that he was the genuine Author, because the Book was written with his own hand; all which Testimonies, considering the premisses, prove no more nor less than that the King could write and read, which was never denied by any that I know.* Now such stuff as this is a shock to any man's modesty, and deserves scorn, but not an Answer: And if he had resolv'd to deal at this rate, he should have adjourn'd the debate to *Billingsgate*, where he would have met with Antagonists who could have managed a Controversie with him his own way, and at his own weapon.

Our Author hath two Objections yet behind, one is that there should be so many Copies; *Mr. Herbert had one left him by the King, and Charles the Second shewed another to Mr. Wood, as Dr. Canaries writes*; and although our Author may allow the King to transcribe one Copy, yet he cannot be persuaded that he could find leisure enough to write so many Copies. Now indeed, if this Book had been of *Dr. Gauden's* composing, 'tis unaccountable that there should be one Copy under the King's own hand, what leisure soever he had; but if it was his own, there was reason enough for more Copies than one; this Book had been taken from him once before, and he was not in such

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such good hands, but he might reasonably fear to be rifled again; and seeing he put such a great value upon it, as it justly deserv'd, it was highly reasonable to secure it by more Transcripts, that if one was taken the other might be preserv'd: And for writing so much with his own hand, we may hear the Testimony of a person, who (among others) heard the King discoursing at his table of the advantages he had reap'd by his sufferings, and among them adds this, *Neither (said he) is this all the benefit that Princely my present infelicity hath brought me; for this groundless Pellican distaste of the Publick, hath made me my own Private Secretary, I am now become my own Amanuensis: My abilities, though mean, may now appear, for I have none to enable them; I have sometimes held it sufficient to dictate to a pen, but now those directories in all likelyhood are to be estranged from me, I must accommodate my garb to my present Fortunes,-----Princes in distress may not be asham'd to be their own Secretaries.*

The next is, *Why is none of these ever since produc'd? How came this Prince's Autographs to be thus neglected, when his day is so strictly observ'd?* This is a pure Objection, to deny the Book because the original Copy is not produc'd; and yet he hath been told by Sir Thomas Herbert, that he had it, and given him by the King too, and that I think is producing it, except he thinks nothing is producing it, but sending it about to be seen. Sir Thomas's Testimony is sufficient to shew that it was in being, and probably is so still in Sir Thomas's Study. But that I suppose is not the business, the sting of the Objection lies in the reason, *when His Day is so strictly observ'd*; our Author could pardon the Autographs, if the people would but let the Day alone; this is a nuisance and grievance to the Nation, the occasion of abundance of mischief, and he hath bestow'd near four Pages against the observing it; and among others hath these remarkable expressions, *Be- sides that for many weighty reasons such days ought not to be perpetuated, or otherwise in a little time ours will be as full as the Roman Calandar. Such days, i. e. such day:*

as the 30th. of *January*, (for he is speaking of that, and of that only,) and shall we have as many *Royal Martyrs* to fill our Calendar, as the Papists have *Saints*? and all this *in a little time* too? This is a terrible sort of a reason for laying aside such days, or otherwise our Calendar will be over-loaded with them. And our Author's doctrine suits well with this, *If there was ever any power in England of curing the King's Evil, it was plainly lodg'd in the People.*

The next is the Testimony of Mr. *Royston* the Bookfeller, which our Author tells us *signifies nothing to the merits of the Cause; for to be sure the Bookfeller was not made privy to the Secret.* Very well, but suppose the Bookfeller was made privy to the Secret, then I hope it may signify something to the merits of the Cause; and Mr. *Royston*, affirms not only "That the King sent him a message *October* before, "to prepare all things ready for printing some papers he "should shortly send him; but also, "That it was this "very Copy brought the 23d. of *December* next following. And to confirm this I had added two other Testimonies, of Mr. *Milbourn* and Mr. *Clifford*, who both assisted at the printing it, and testify that they had printed several other things of King *Charles*, and that the Copy they printed it by was transcrib'd by Mr. *Oder*. And Mr. *Clifford* moreover affirms, that the first Title, the *Royal Plea*, was chang'd (by leave from the King) into *Icon Basilike* by Dr. *Jeremiah Taylor*; and the reason of that was, lest it should be suppress'd by two Informers, *Cheltenham* and *Jones*, and the Title being Greek might be less taken notice of by them. These Testimonies joyn'd with Mr. *Royston's*, are exceeding strong and full; Mr. *Royston* testifies to the King's message, and to the very Copy in pursuance of that message; the Printer and Corrector testify to the hand in which it was written, and one of them to the change of the Title, to the person by whose advice it was chang'd, and the reason of it; and 'tis hardly possible more could be said in this Case, except they had received the Book from the hands of the King himself. And one would think this might have

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have deserv'd a little of our Author's pains, especially considering that if this Testimony be suffered to stand uncontrolled, the supports of his Cause are perfectly ruin'd; for if this be true, Dr. *Walker's* Account, and Mrs. *Gauden's* Narrative are both false. And I crave leave to mind him, that his not disproving will be construed an acknowledgment, and all indifferent men will conclude that he yields what he does not except to, and while he leaves untouched such pregnant Testimonies, he gives up his Cause, and deserts it in the plain field.

For a Conclusion of this particular I had mention'd two Authors, who speak directly to the matter, and testify their own knowledge of the King's being the Author, which our Author thus discreetly answers, *We shall hear and examine them when they'll please to tell us their names, though all they have to say is answered already.* This last is a bold stroke, for one of them says, *he knew the King's hand, he had seen the Manuscript, he had heard him own it;* and the other gives a particular account of the King's intentions and discourses relating to this Book, how early it began, upon what occasion, and what steps he made in it; and is all this answer'd already? I perceive our Author hath a very quick hand at answering. But I suppose he means they are answer'd as well as all the rest, and that is true enough; for there is not much difference between answering nothing, and answering nothing to the purpose. In the mean time, 'tis very ridiculous to except to the truth of an Author for no other reason but only not publishing his name; and especially by such a one who doth the same thing himself; and if this be a reason, I perceive our Author does not expect that *The Life of John Milton*, and *Amyntor*, should find much credit in the world: However, there was good reason for those Authors to conceal themselves, Truth was at that time a little too dangerous for a man to set his name to it; and although I doubt not, if we could recover their names, but the character of the persons would set a great value upon their Testimony; nevertheless, they have still their weight, and their Authority ought not to be rejected,

jected, but upon very good reasons, which our Author cannot conveniently spare at this time, especially when they deliver nothing but what very well agrees with the thing it self; and concurs in substance and circumstance with other Testimony; particularly one of them tells us, “ That these “ Meditations were seized at *Naseby*, and by the benignity “ of the Conquerour were recovered again, and returned to “ the King, which infinitely cheer’d him. And this Book was printed in 1649. near thirty years before Major *Huntington* made his relation to Sir *William Dugdale*; and when the same Testimony, in the same circumstances, is delivered at different times, on severall occasions, and by divers persons, they plainly corroborate each other, and there can be no possible reason to doubt of the truth and sincerity of the Evidence.

Having thus dispatch’d what our Author hath, and what he hath not excepted to, I shall produce some farther Testimony to prove that the King was the true and genuine Author.

The first is the Testimony of Mr. *Barry*, a Counsellor of *Gray’s-Inn*, who in a Letter to a friend, bearing date *April 28. 1699.* (and which Letter I have now in my hands) gives this memorable story, and I shall set it down in his own words. *When I was a Student, and after a young Barrister of the honourable Society of Grays-Inn, I used in the long vacation to come down and pay my duty to my Father, and at the same time I did the like to Sir William Morton, then a reverend Judge of the King’s-Bench, who (without boasting) admitted me to almost an intimacy with him; with whom dining one day, and dinner being over, the Judge over a bottle of Wine and a Pipe, discours’d of the strange parts, great wisdom, and abilities of Charles the First, with whom he said he had been very conversant. To all which I answered, and said, And yet they will not allow him to be the Author of the Book called εἰκὼν βασιλική. To which the Judge laying his hand gently on mine said, young Gentleman, or Mr. Barry, I am an old man, but you may live to tell, as occasion offers, what I shall now relate to you, when I (meaning himself) was a Collonel*

Collonel in the late King's Army, and upon a time, the Army marching about Stow in Gloucestershire, the King lead the Horse himself, and one Sir William Vavisor the Foot, when a storm of rain fell, and it happened so great, as separated the Horse from the Foot, and the King was forc'd to betake himself to a Countrey Village, where the best house was an Ale-house; into which the King was no sooner got, but he was concern'd lest Sir William Vavisor should fall into the Enemies quarters, for want of orders to march; whereupon the King (said the Judge) call'd me, and it was agreed upon, orders should be sent to Sir William Vavisor; whereupon pen, ink and paper was call'd for, but the house affording neither, the King pulled out of his own pocket a pen and ink, and likewise a piece of paper, which the Judge said he gave him, with which the Judge said he retired into another room or apartment; and going to write on the paper, he found one side of the paper written upon by the King's own hand, with which the Judge told me he was very well acquainted: the Judge told me the writing was to this effect, or the very same words: As to the Rebels taking of my Letters, as it was an advantage they could not well expect, so they knew not how with civility to use; for allways amidst the greatest advantages are the greatest obligations, and such should I have esteemed the concealment of my Letters, which challenge a privacy from all who are not wholly barbarous. Which when the Judge had read, the Judge told me he carried the paper to the King again, and told his Majesty, he thought he design'd that paper for some other use; which when the King lookt on, he said; O y mercy, and put it in his pocket again, out of which the Judge told me the King gave him another paper, on which the Judge told me he wrote orders, and sent them to Sir William Vavisor, as the King commanded; moreover, the Judge bid me look in the Book when I came home, in the Chapter containing the King's sentiments on that occasion, and I did so, and found the same passage; or words to the same effect, which I have retain'd in my memory ever since, having hardly seen the Book since, which was in the long vacation, sixty six.

The next is the Testimony of Mr. Symmons's Widow. And it is agreed on all hands, that Mr. Symmons was the person who was only concern'd in the printing it, and who was privy to the whole matter; this Mrs. Gauden and Dr. Walker assert, and this is attested on the other side, and Sir William Dugdale affirms it, and consequently his Evidence must be of great weight in this Case, and neither side can except against it; and thus it follows *verbatim* as I received it from the Reverend Mr. Spincks, who took it from her own mouth.

The Testimony of Mrs. Ellen Spanne, formerly Wife of the Reverend Mr. Edward Symmons, Rector of Rayne in the County of Essex.

The said Mrs. Spanne testifieth, that in or about the year 1648. seeing her Husband, Mr. Symmons, reading some papers written in a hand she was wholly unacquainted with, and which she therefore concluded not to be his own, she enquired of him whose they were? and where he had them? In relation to the latter of which enquiries, he desired her not to insist upon it, because he was unwilling to inform her, for this reason, that if called any way to account, she might be able to swear that she knew not how he came by them. As to the other, he answer'd that they were the King's, and were sent him to the end he might get them printed. Not long after, he committed them to the Press, and some Sheets of them being printed, were brought to his Lodgings in Carter Lane, and there were seized by Souldiers, who were sent to plunder him, which somewhat retarded the publication of them; though the original papers, being then in the Printer's hands, escaped their search, and so at length the Book (i. e. the Icon Basilike) came forth. Not long after her said Husband Mr. Symmons died, and some time after her Husband's death, this said Mrs. Symmons was invited to dine with one Mr. Robinson behind the Royal Exchange, who after dinner took her aside, and desired her to deal truly and freely with him, in a matter that he had to propound to her, which was about the Author of Icon Basilike; to whom she replied, that it was in truth the King's: He further requested

quested of her to tell him if it was not her Husband's, adding withall, that it would be for her advantage to speak the Truth; whereunto she again answer'd, that it was not her Husband's; but the King's, and her Husband was only employed to get it printed; assuring him moreover, that when her said Husband lay on his death-bed, he was pressed by one to declare the Truth in this particular, and that he answer'd the person thus pressing him (who was his Physitian Dr. Bathurst, though she did not then think fit to name him to Mr. Robinson,) that it was certainly the King's, and that he did neither add to, nor diminish from it in any respect, but sent it away to the Press exactly as it came to his hands. Thus much Mr. Symmons professed a little before his death, and thus much his Widow, Mrs. Symmons, owned before Mr. Robinson, when enticed by him to the contrary; and she yet believes, and shall allways believe, that as verily as she is now alive, the aforesaid Icon Basilike was the King's own Book, composed by himself, and written in his own hand.

Signed this 5th of Febr. 1691.

Ellen Spanne.

in the presence of Ric. Hughes, Tho. Spanne.

And now to sum up this Evidence in behalf of the King, in order, here we have Judge *Morton* reading some of it in a rough draught, in the King's own hand, in a Paper taken out of the King's Pocket; Major *Huntington* recovered the Manuscript it self by the favour of General *Fairfax*, and delivered it to the King at *Hampton Court*; Mr. *Levet* saw the King divers times writing of it, read it in Manuscript, and had the Book it self in charge in the *Ile of Wight*; Sir *Thomas Herbert* had the Book it self given him by the King, written with his own hand, and which he compar'd with other of the King's Writings; Mr. *Symmons*, to whose care the printing of it was committed, testifies upon his death-bed that it was the King's own; Mr. *Roylton* the Bookseller had a message from the King, to prepare for the printing some papers, and which papers were this very Copy, brought *December* the 23. following; the Printer and Corrector testifie, that the Copy they printed

ted it by, was written by the hand of Secretary *Oder*; and the Corrector farther declares, that to prevent the seizing it by Informers, the Title was changed (by leave from the King) by Dr. *Feremiah Taylor*. This is full and accumulative Evidence, and all direct to the matter; and without any observation upon it, I shall leave the Reader entirely to judge for himself, whether a matter of fact of this nature be not more than sufficiently, even abundantly prov'd.

We come at length to King *James's* Letters Patents to Mr. *Chiswell*, to reprint the Works of King *Charles I.* to confront which, our Author tells a long story, which I shall not need to repeat, but only acquaint the Reader that I made bold to write to Sir *Roger Lestrangle*, and he did me the favour to return me an Answer; both which Letters I shall lay before him, and then leave him to judge of the whole matter. Mine to Sir *Roger* was as follows.

Sir, Finding your name mention'd in a Book called Amyn-tor, p. 151. and a story along with it, wherein it is my hap to be a little concern'd, I take the freedom to beg the favour of an Answer from you to the Three following Queries, if it may stand with your good liking.

1. *Whether upon your application to King James for a Recommendatory Letter, in behalf of Mr. Chiswel, to print, or recommend the Works of King Charles the First, did the King refuse this request or not?*

2. *Did the King refuse, and give this reason for his refusal, that Icon Basilike was not his Father's Book?*

3. *Did you ever tell Mr. Chiswel of this, or any other such resolution of the said King?*

A Line or two in return upon these heads will highly oblige,
May 4. 1699.

Sir, Your, &c.

Sir *Roger's* Answer follows *verbatim*.

Sir, In answer to your Three Questions, in order as they lye, and in as few words as possible.

1. *The Request was so far from being refused, that it was granted, and the Book printed under the Authority of that License.*

2. *I never heard the King say, that Icon Basilike was not his Father's Book, or any thing to that purpose.*

3. *I never told Mr. Chiswel of any such Resolution taken by the said King, as is above mentioned.*

This is the plain Truth of the Case, and it is at your service, to make what use of it you please.

May 5. 1699:

Sir, I am your, &c.

Roger Lestrangle.

Lastly, our Author speaks to *Pamela's* Prayer, hath recited it at large, and takes abundance of pains to prove that it was really used by the King, which from him is the pleasantest thing in the world: He hath all along been endeavouring to prove the whole Book a forgery, and father'd upon the King, and why not the Prayer too? why is not the Prayer Dr. *Gauden's*, as well as the Book? And his reason for this makes it yet more pleasant, which is *that Mr. Royston printed it*: P. 154. Why, Mr. *Royston* printed the whole Book, and moreover affirms that it was brought to him from the King, (which is more than ever was said of the Prayer,) and if Mr. *Royston's* printing and attesting, are not sufficient to prove the Book genuine, how comes his bare printing without any farther circumstance, to be such an extraordinary proof for the use of the Prayer? This is very righteous dealing, and our Author shewes his justice, when any thing will pass to prove what he thinks reflects on the King's memory, and yet the very same proofs, and a hundred times more strong and pregnant, must be all insufficient to prove what makes for his Honour. And whatever our Author thinks, this is a very severe reflection on his proceedings, and plainly shews that he disputes with a byass, and there is corruption at the bottom; for there is nothing more shameless and immodest, as well as irrational, to insist with assurance on those very proofs which he denies to his Adversaries. In the mean time, that this *Prayer* was a forgery, and a forgery of his friend *Milton* too, I had prov'd beyond exception, by a testimony from Mr. *Hill* the Printer, "Who told Dr. *Vind.* p. 52. "*Gill* and Dr. *Bernard* that it was inserted by the contrivance of *Milton* and *Bradshaw*, to bring a scandal on the Book,

“ Book, and blast the reputation of its Author; and the
 “ occasion was, that Mr. *Dugard*, *Milton's* intimate Friend,
 “ being taken printing an Edition of the King's Book, *Mil-*
 “ *ton* got him off, by *Bradshaw's* interest, on condition that
 “ he should add *Pamela's* Prayer to the Book. This our
 Author calls a *gross fable*; and the reason is, *when it does*
not appear that Dugard, who was Printer to the Parlia-
ment, ever printed this Book. Does not appear, i. e. *does*
not appear to him; and it is very bold to call this a *gross*
fable, because he does not know whether Mr. *Dugard* printed
 the Book or not. Does he think his ignorance of a matter
 is sufficient to make it a *gross fable*? at this rate we are like
 to have a pure *History of the Canon*, when every thing he is
 ignorant of, must be a *gross forgery*; and we shall have *spu-*
rious Authors enow, if his ignorance be sufficient to give
 them that Title. However, whether our Author knows it
 or not, it is certain that Mr. *Dugard* printed this Book, and
 was catch'd printing of it too; and I have now before me
 an information of Mr. *Hooker*, given *March 30. 91.* where-
 in he affirms that *he* (the said Mr. *Hooker*). *was Corrector to*
Mr. Dugard's Press in 48; that *Icon Basilike was printed at*
that Press, with the correction of Mr. Hooker; that Mr.
Dugard being known, was thrown into prison, and turn'd
out of his place of Merchant Taylor's School, and that Mr.
Hooker to save himself went to travel for several years.
 And what now does he think of his *does not appear*? if he
 did not know it before, I hope now it appears sufficiently,
 not only that Mr. *Dugard* printed it, but was like to be ru-
 in'd for it; and Mr. *Hill* tells us how he escaped the dan-
 ger, and came into favour again, and was restor'd to the
 School, even by performing an honest piece of work for
 Mr. *Milton*, and claping in *Pamela's* Prayer into the King's
 Book, to discredit the whole. And in the next Edition of
John Milton's Life, our Author, if he please, may add this
 as one of his Master-pieces.

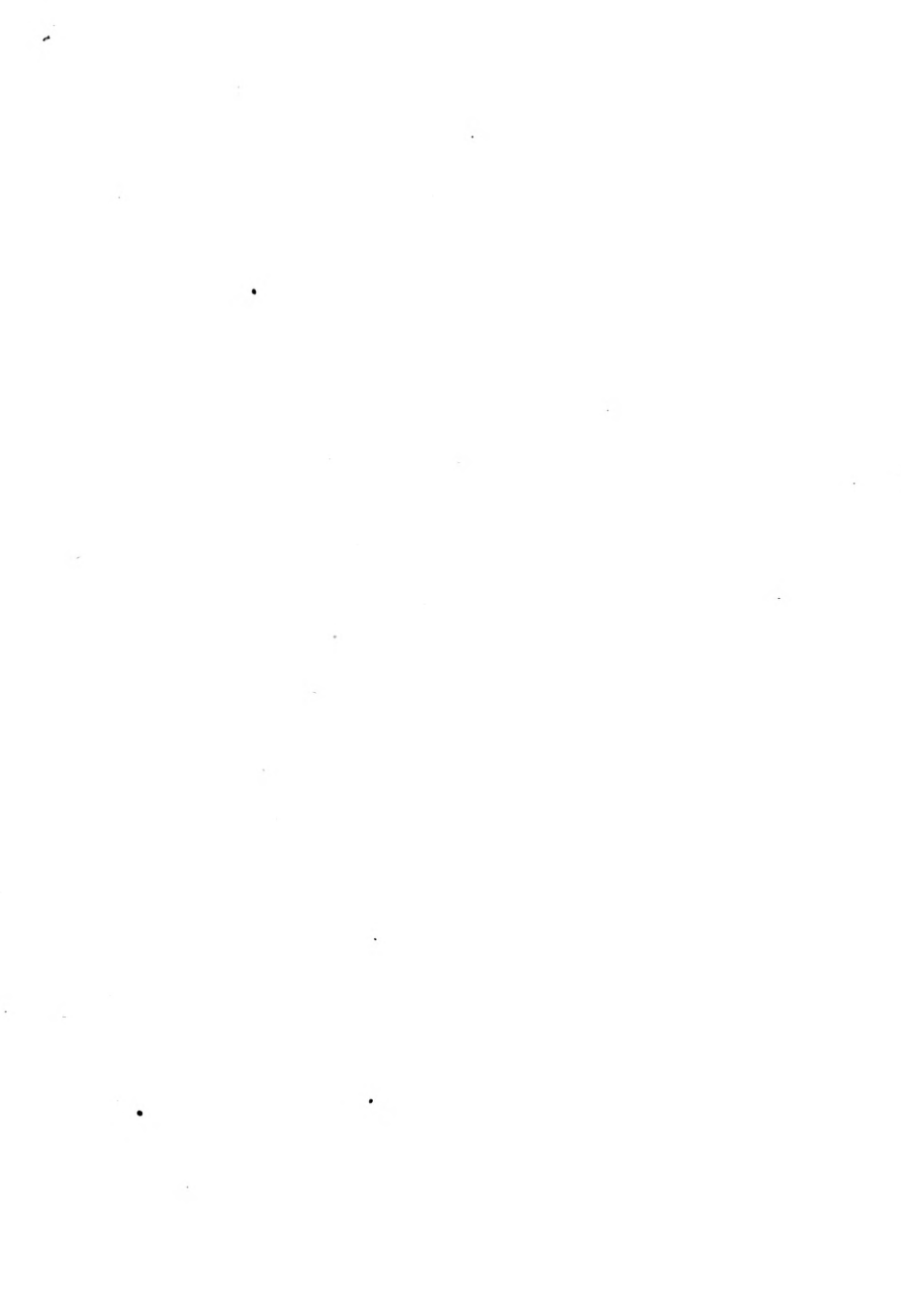
There is yet behind one entire branch of this Controversie,
 and that is, *the intrinsic Proof*, drawn from the Book it
 self, in the following instances, *the Stile, the Historical*
part

part of it, the King's secret intentions, and matters of his Conscience; and each of these I had particularly spoke to, and from thence endeavour'd, and I think plainly made it appear, not only that Dr. Gauden was not, but that no other person possibly could be the Author of it, but the King himself. But this our Author serves just as the other, he flirts at it a little, but will not upon any terms be brought to mention, much less to answer any one of those reasons that conclude for the King. Thus for instance, in one corner of his Book he says, *a multitude of others agree with me, that the stile is infinitely liker that of a Doctor than a King*; and so one entire paragraph, and a comparison between the King's stile and that of Dr. Gauden is concisely answer'd: if this be the case, why did he trouble himself to write at all? he might have told us in short that he and his friends had agreed upon the point, let other people say what they will, and so all his Book might have been spared; whereas, as I take it, his business was to answer my reasons, and not to scorn his Readers, with telling them what he and some others agree about it; for let them agree what they please, except he gives the reasons of such agreement, the Reader is never the wiser. In like manner, in another place he tells us, *as to the King's secret intentions, and remorse of Conscience, the Book was written for that end, and the Author's design was to give such a colour to all the King's actions*. But why did not he shew his Reader what colour that was, and leave him to judge whether it was a *fucus* and paint, or a natural complexion? why, because he durst not trust him with it; and it would look a little hideously to tell his Reader, *the Author's design was to give a colour to the King's actions, and to tell fine things of his gracious purposes*, by charging him in downright terms with acting against his Conscience, and in a case of blood; and moreover, aggravating it to the utmost, and that *it had greater aggravations upon him than any man*, and charging the calamities that befell him, as a judgment for the guilt of that sin. In like manner it would have look'd strangely to have told his Reader, there was a *Counterfeit Author*, who

who had *forg'd secret intentions* for the King ; and when he had done, had *appealed to God* in the most solemn manner for the truth of them, and moreover had called for Divine Vengeance *upon himself and his father's house* if those intentions were not most true. This I suppose, would have a little shock'd his Reader, and therefore it was not fit by any means that he should see it ; and whatever our Author may talk of *setting colours and telling fine things*, I presume all men will think that nothing but a Devil could *appeal and imprecate* in that manner upon *counterfeits and forgeries*. But this whole matter of the *Intrinsick Proof* is too considerable to be slightly pass'd over, and therefore I must refer the Reader to the *Vindication*. This little is enough to shew how fairly our Author hath answered this branch of proofs, when he hath not mentioned any one of the reasons, and never will doe it ; and I have nothing farther to doe, but to leave it with the Reader whether I have not abundantly made good the charge I laid down against him at the beginning.

Vind. p. 45.
to 49.

For a Conclusion I must account with our Author for his civility in giving me a *name*, he does it with great assurance throughout his Book, and I desire to know by what authority? if he says common fame, (and I am sure he can have no more, if he has that,) that is a very odd reason for a man who writes a Book against the common opinion of a whole age, and will not suffer the fame of more than fifty years to make good an Author's title. And this same common fame gives out, that one Mr. *Toland* is the Author of *Amyntor*, but I think that is not a sufficient reason for me to charge that Gentleman with all those misrepresentations and unfair proceedings above; let that Author answer for himself, and so long as he thinks fit to conceal his name, he may take his liberty; whom those initial Letters *J. T.* mean at the end of the Epistle, concerns neither me nor the Question, and I shall not trouble my self to enquire.



Usher - 126. Sanderson. 8^o Clause in 2^o Article
ended by Bedford. - 129

Clarendon's Testimony for the King's writ-
ing to Eikon. - 2^o fine of the Indica-
tion - p. 33. - 37.

